C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

OPERA,

OMISSIS FRAGMENTIS,

OMNIA;

AD OPTIMORUM EXEMPLARIUM FIDEM
RECENSITA.

ANIMADVERSIONIBUS ILLUSTRAVIT

P. WILSON, LL.D.

LITT. GRÆC. ET LAT. &C. IN COLLEGIO COLUMBIANO NEO-EBO
NUPER PROFESSOR.

Editio Quarta.

REGENSUIT NOTASQUE SUAS ADSPERSIT

CAROLUS ANTHON,

IN EODEM COLLEGIO LITT. GRÆC. ET LAT. PROF. ADJ.

NOVI EBORACI,

IMPENSIS G. ET C. CARVILL,

IN VIA LATA.

E Typographeo Classico Gulielmi E. Dean, in vico vulgò dicto Stone Street.

CIↃ IↃ CCCXXV.

Gift of Dr. Mary Taylor

VIRO

PLURIMUM REVERENDO

PIETATIS, INGENII, DOCTRINÆ LAUDIBUS FLORENTI,

JOANNI HENRICO HOBART, DD.

EPISCOPO

NEO-EBORACENSI DIGNISSIMO,

QUEM,

IN EXTERAS REGIONES OB INCOMMODAM VALETUDINEM
PROFECTUM, DESIDERIIS ICTA FIDELIBUS,
VOTIS PRECIBUSQUE VOCAVIT,

NUNC AUTEM,

RENOVATIS VIRIBUS REDEUNTEM, ANIMO
LÆTISSIMO EXPECTAT

PATRIA,

Hanc Sallustii Editionem,

SUMMA, QUA PAR EST, REVERENTIA,

DAT DEDICATQUE

C. A.

PRÆFATIO

QUARTÆ EDITIONIS.

PRÆCEPTORE meo venerabili fatis abrepto, Sallustiique ab illo ornati redemptoribus librariis novam editionem sub prelum missuris, cura mihi demandata fuit opus parente suo orbatum in tutelam meam recipiendi. Non magis officio, quam jucunda beneficiorum memoria adductus sum ut onus hoc laboris suscipiendum putarem. Nam quum mens mea vitæ anteactæ spatium, atque ineuntis ævi inscitiam respicere incipiat, hunc video mihi principem et ad ingrediendam et ad prosequendam optimorum studiorum optimam rationem extitisse. Illo facem præferente, sæcula præterita veterisque ingenii thesauros, fausto pede auspiciisque secundis, accedere atque intueri semper facillimum, et felices illi quibus nec improba Siren desidia, nec contemptor animus nimiaque de se existimatio fructus uberrimos capiendi occasionem abstulerint. Naturæ tandem concessit vir omni mea laude præstantior, et mortalia linquens in æterna migravit.—Sed memoria laudesque tui; optime præceptorum atque amîcum, nunquam in oblivione jacebunt! Dum pietati honos, dum jucunda humanitas, exercitata atque præclara disciplina conformatioque doctrinæ apud homines nomen venerandum sibi comparant, dum præstantes illæ pulcherrimæque virtutes palma donantur, quæ tenebras vitæ offusas discutere atque viam, qua in æternam patriam ascenditur, clara luce sua faciliorem reddere valebunt, quis erit qui non tui cum charitate et benevolentia recordationem gratissimam usurpét?

Manibus viri doctissimi expiatis, in concinnanda hac editione quid consilii ceperim, aut qua ratione id fuerim

exsecutus nunc dicere restat. Textum Cortianum quem Wilsonus, ὁ μακαρίτης, exhibuit plerumque retinui; in quibuscunque locis autem Cortiana vel legendi vel interpretandi ratio durissima visa est, linguæque Latinæ indoli prorsus aliena, meliores ex aliis editionibus, Bipontina præsertim, et lectiones et interpretationes revocavi. Cortius enim, magnus ille vir, quamvis de Sallustio, si quis alius, optime meritus, nonnunquam attamen corrigendi cacoëthes in se irruere patitur, et oblitus sui, melioraque rejiciens, deteriora laudibus extollit; nonnunquam, viri clarissimi ductu atque auspiciis, Sallustius ipse, sit venia verbo, parum Latine loquitur. Ubicunque igitur hoc morbo laborantem textum inveni, salutaribus remediis, ut facultas tulit, saluti suæ subvenire nullus dubitavi. Et dolendum est sane, doctissimum præceptorem meum, hanc ipsam viam ingrediendi, atque Cortiana vestigia minus fideliter persequendi consilium abjecisse: utinam subacto suo judicio sæpius vir beatus stetisset.

Quod ad notas attinet, ab ima pagina in calcem voluminis eas relegavi, ne, si discipulorum occulis inter prælectionem subjicerentur, plus incommodi quam utilitatis adferrent. Quas uncinis inclusi, huic editioni sunt additæ, partim proprio Marte exaratæ partim ex aliis selectæ: parvula necnon numerorum signa Arabica, suo quodque loco per contextum inserta, ad singulas annotationes discentium occulos facilius dirigent.

Hæc præmonuisse sufficiat. De typorum concinnitate totiusque operis forma judicet qui in his paginis versabitur.

Scribebam Novi Eboraci, A. D. VIII Cal. Octobr. CIↃ IↃ CCCXXV.

C. A.

C. CRISPI

SALLUSTII.

BELLUM CATILINARIUM.

[1]Omnis [2]homines qui [3]sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, vitam [4]silentio ne transeant, veluti pecora, quae natura [5]prona, atque ventri obedientia, finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore [6]sita : [7]animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur : [8]alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. [9]Quo mihi rectius videtur ingenii, quam virium opibus, gloriam quaerere ; et, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, [10]memoriam nostri [11]quam maxume longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis ; [12]virtus clara aeternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis, an virtute animi, [13]res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius, quam [14]incipias, consulto ; et, ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen [15]imperii id primum fuit) [16]diversi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant : [17]et jam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate [18]agitabatur ; sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam

in Asia [19]Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbes atque nationes subigere, [20]lubidinem dominandi caussam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maxumo imperio putare; tum demum [21]periculo atque negotiis compertum est; in bello plurimum ingenium posse. [22]Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, uti in bello, valeret, [23]aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent; neque [24]aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneres. Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum, ubi [25]pro labore desidia, [26]pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, [27]fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optumum quemque a minus bono transfertur. Quae homines [28]arant, navigant, aedificant, [29]virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam, sicuti peregrinantes, transegere; quibus, profecto contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque [30]juxta aestumo, [31] quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enim vero is demum mihi vivere atque [32]frui anima videtur, qui, aliquo negotio intentus, praeclari facinoris, aut artis bonae famam quaerit. Sed, [33]in magna copia rerum, [34]aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. PULCHRUM est bene facere reipublicae: etiam [35]bene dicere haud absurdum est. Vel pace, vel bello, clarum fieri licet: et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, [36]tamen etsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et [37]auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur [38]res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta [39]dictis sunt exaequanda: dehinc, quia plerique, quae delicta reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia [40]putant: ubi de magna virtute et gloria [41]bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat.

aequo animo accipit; supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus, initio, sicuti plerique, [42]studio ad rempublicam latus sum; [43]ibique mihi advorsa multa fuere. [44]Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant. Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium; tamen, inter tanta vitia, imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur: ac me, cum ab [45]reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido, eadem, quæ ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. IGITUR, ubi animus ex [46]multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam aetatem a republica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium, secordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere; neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, [47]servilibus officiis intentum, aetatem agere: sed, a quo incepto [48]studio me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani [49]carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, [50]partibus reipublicae animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinae conjuratione, quam verissume potero, [51]paucis absolvam: nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo, sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. LUCIUS CATILINA, [52]nobili genere natus, magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis, grata fuere; [53]ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus [54]patiens inediae, vigiliae, algoris, supra quam cuique credibile est: animus audax, subdolus, [55]varius, cujus rei libet [56] simulator ac dissimulator: alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: [57]satis loquentiae, sapientiae parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia.

nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, post dominationem [58]Lucii Sullae, lubido maxuma invaserat reipublicae capiundae; neque, id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, [59]quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox, inopia rei familiaris, et conscientia scelerum; quae utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. [60]Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis [61]tempus admonuit, supra repetere, ac, paucis, instituta majorum domi militiaeque; quomodo rempublicam habuerint quantamque reliquerint; ut, paullatim immutata, ex pulcherruma, pessuma ac flagitiosissuma facta sit, disserere.

VI. URBEM Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui, Aenea duce, profugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his [62]Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, [63]alii alio more viventes; incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint. Sed, postquam [64] res eorum [65]civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera, satisque pollens videbatur; [66]sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello [67]tentare: pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri, metu [68]percussi, a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiaeque intenti [69]festinare, parare, alius alium hortari; hostibus obviam ire; libertatem, patriam parentesque armis tegere: post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant; magisque dandis quam accipiundis beneficiis, amicitias parabant. Imperium [70]legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant:

delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum, reipublicae consultabant: hi, vel aetate, vel curae similitudine, PATRES appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod, initio, conservandae libertatis, atque augendae [71]reipublicae fuerat in superbiam [72]dominationemque convertit; immutato more, [73]annua imperia, binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minume posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

VII. SED ea tempestate [74]coepere se quisque extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus [75]boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, [76]adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. Jam primum juventus, [77]simul laboris ac [78]belli patiens erat, in castris per usum militiam discebat: magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper, aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: [79]virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: [80]sese quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici dum [81]tale facinus faceret, properabat: [82] eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis [83]maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbes, natura munitas, pugnando ceperit; [84]ni ea res longius ab incepto traheret.

VIII. SED profecto, Fortuna in omni re dominatur: ea [85]res cunctas, ex lubidine magis quam ex vero, celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego [86]aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed, quia

provenere ibi [87]scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis [88]eam potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam [89]ea copia fuit: quia [90]prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxume erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; [91]optumus quisque facere, quam dicere; sua ab aliis [92]benefacta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

IX. IGITUR domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat; [93]jus bonumque apud eos, non legibus magis quam natura, valebat. Jurgia, discordias, simultates, cum hostibus exercebant: cives cum civibus de virtute certabant: in [94]suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicis fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat, aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo; quod sæpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius, revocati, bello excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere, aut, pulsi, loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis, [95]quam metu, imperium [96]agitabant, et, accepta injuria, ignoscere, quam persequi, malebant.

X. SED, ubi labore atque justitia respublica crevit, [97]reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae, et [98]populi ingentes vi subacti, [99]Carthago, aemula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant; saevire Fortuna, ac miscere omnia, coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, iis otium, divitiae [100]optandae aliis, oneri miseriaeque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperii cupido crevit: ea qua-

si [1]materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque [2]artis bonas subvertit; pro his, superbiam, crudelitatem, deos [3]neglegere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit: ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque, non [4] ex re, sed ex commodo, aestumare; [5]magisque vultum, quam ingenium bonum habere. Haec primo paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari: [6]post, ubi, contagio quasi, pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium, ex justissumo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. SED primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: quod tamen vitium propius [7]virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, [8]bonus, ignavus, aeque sibi exoptant: sed ille [9]vera via nititur; huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ [10]studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea, quasi [11]venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat: semper infinita, insatiabilis, neque copia, neque inopia minuitur. Sed, postquam L. Sulla, armis [12]recepta republica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere; neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. [13]*Huc* accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asiam [14]ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriose nimisque liberalitur habuerat; loca [15]amoena, voluptaria, facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani [16]amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari; ea [17]privatim ac publice rapere; delubra spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi mili-

tes, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium [18]animos fatigant: [19]ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriae temperarent.

XII. POSTQUAM divitiae honori coepere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro [20]malivolentia duci coepit. Igitur, ex divitiis, juventutem luxuria atque avaritia, cum superbia invasere: [21]rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; [22]pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi atque moderati habere. Operae pretium est, quum domus atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri majores, religiosissumi mortales, fecere. [23]Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos [24]sua gloria decorabant; neque victis quidquam, praeter injuriae licentiam, eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissumi homines, per summum scelus, omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissumi viri [25]victores reliquerant: proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. NAM quid ea memorem, quae, nisi iis qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt: a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria [26]constructa esse: quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per [27]turpidinem properabant. Sed lubido ganeae, ceterique [28]cultus, non minor incesserat: [29]vescendi caussa, terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius, quam somni cupido esset; non famem, aut sitim neque frigus, neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia [30]luxu antecapere. Haec juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile [31]lubidinibus carebat: eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

XIV. IN tanta tamque corrupta civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium [32]flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam, quicumque impudicus, adulter, bona patria laceraverat; quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus [33]redimeret; praeterea, omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, [34]convicti judiciis, aut pro factis judicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua, perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat; postremo, omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat; ii Catilinae proxumi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile [35]par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxume adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles et aetate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam. uti cujusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere; aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo, neque sumptui, neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos [36]obnoxios fidosque faceret.

XV. JAM primum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat; cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote [37]Vestae, alia hujuscemodi contra [38]jus fasque. Postremo, captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cujus, praeter formam, nihil [39]umquam bonus laudavit: quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta aetate; pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur caussa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis, neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam [40]vastabat. Igitur [41]colos exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in [42]facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. SED juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere; post [43] ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat: si caussa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat; nihilo minus [44]insontes, sicuti sontes [45]circumvenire, jugulare: scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent [46]manus aut animus, [47]gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul [48]quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores, civile bellum [49]exoptabant; [50]opprimundae reipublicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus: Cn. Pompeius in extremis [51]terris bellum gerebat: ipsi [52] consulatum petundi magna spes: [53]senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque res omnes: sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

XVII. IGITUR circiter Kalendas Junias, [54]L. Cæsare, et C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos adpellare: hortari alios, alios tentare: opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma [55]necessitudo, et plurimum audaciae. Eo convenere, [56]senatorii ordinis, P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullae, Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Portius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius: praeterea ex equestri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: ad hoc multi ex [57]coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant praeterea complures paullo occultius consilii hujusce participes [58]nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia, aut alia necessitudo. Ceterum juventus pleraque, sed maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat: quibus in otio vel magnifice, vel molliter

vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem, malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina; de [59]qua, quam verissume potero, dicam. L. Tullo, M. Lepido consulibus, [60]P. Autronius et P. Sulla, legibus ambitus interrogati, poenas dederant. Post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum [61]repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, [62]quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc, Catilina et [63]Autronius, consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio, [64]Kalendis Januariis, L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere; [65]ipsi [66]fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas [67]Hispanias mittere. Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis [68]transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quod ni Catilina maturasset [69]pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die, post conditam urbem Romanam, pessumum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.

XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam [70]quaestor pro praetore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod eum [71]infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat: quippe foedum hominem a republica procul [72] esse volebat: simul, quia

boni quam plures praesidium in eo putabant: et jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, [73]in provinciam, ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens, occisus est. [74]Sunt qui ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia, barbaros nequivisse pati: alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque [75]clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem [76]adgressos; numquam Hispanos [77]praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio [78]relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. CATILINA ubi eos, quos paullo ante memoravi, convenisse videt; tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen [79]in rem fore credens universos adpellare et cohortari, in abditam partem aedium [80]secedit; atque ibi, omnibus [81]arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit. "Ni virtus fidesque vestra [82]spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna [83]dominatio, in manibus frustra fuissent: neque [84]ego[85] per ignaviam, aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed, quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eo animus [86]ausus maxumum atque pulcherrumum facinus [87]incipere: simul, quia vobis, [88]eadem mihi, bona malaque intellexi; [89]nam idem velle atque nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego quae mente agitavi, omnes jam antea diversi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quae conditio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam, postquam respublica in paucorum jus atque ditionem concessit, semper illis reges, [90]tetrarchae vectigales esse; [91]populi; nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, si respublica [92]valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, poten-

tia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt: repulsas nobis reliquere, pericula, judicia, egestatem. Quae quousque tandem patiemini, fortissumi viri? Nonne [93]emori per virtutem praestat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enim vero, pro deûm atque hominum fidem! victoria nobis in manu: [94]viget aetas, animus valet: contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantum modo incepto opus est: [95]cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium cui virile ingenium, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extruendo mari et montibus coaequandis; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas, aut [96]amplius, domos continuare; nobis [97]larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt; [98]nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam [99]trahunt, vexant: tamen [100]summa lubidine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis domi inopia, foris aes alienum; [1]mala res, spes multo asperior: denique, quid reliqui habemus, praeter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa quam saepe optastis, libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria, in oculis sita sunt! fortuna omnia victoribus praemia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis, quam oratio, hortentur. Vel imperatore, vel milite me utimini: neque animus, neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum consul agam; nisi forte animus fallit, et vos servire, quam imperare, parati estis."

XXI. POSTQUAM accepere ea homines, quibus mala abundè omnia erant, sed neque [2]res, neque spes bona ulla; tamen etsi illis quieta movere, magna merces videbatur, tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret, quae conditio belli foret; quae praemia armis peterent; [3]quid ubi-

que opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri [4]tabulas novas, [5]proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quae bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania [6]citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes, petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum : [7]eo consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc, maledictis [8]increpat omnis bonos : suorum unumquemque nominans laudare : [9]admonebat alium egestatis, alium [10]cupiditatis suae. complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt ; cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. FUERE ea tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad jusjurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, [11]humani corporis sanguinem, vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse ; [12]inde cum post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, [13]atque eo, dictitare, fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent, [14]alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta haec, multa praeterea, existumabant, ab iis, qui [15]Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res [16]pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

XXIII. SED in ea [17]conventione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, [18]flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus ; quem censores senatu, probri gratia, [19]amoverant. Huic homini non minor [20]vanitas, quam audacia : neque reticere, quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare : prorsus neque dicere, neque facere, quidquam pensi ha-

bebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo: cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montesque polliceri coepit; minari interdum ferro, nisi obnoxia foret; postremo ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curii caussa cognita, tale periculum reipublicae haud occultum habuit; sed, [21]sublato auctore, de Catilinae conjuratione quae quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res imprimis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea [22]pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum [23]credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo [24]novus adeptus foret. Sed, ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia postfuere.

XXIV. IGITUR, comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius; quod factum primo [25]popularis conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur: sed in dies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam, sua aut amicorum fide, sumtam mutuam, [26]Faesulas ad [27]Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentis sumtus stupro corporis toleraverant; post, [28]ubi aetas tantummodo quaestui, neque luxuriae, modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant: per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere.

XXV. SED in his erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro, liberis satis fortunata: litteris Graecis atque Latinis docta: psallere, saltare [29]elegantius, quam necesse est probae: [30]multa alia, quae instru-

menta luxuriae. Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit: pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile [31]decerneres: lubido sic accensa, ut saepius peteret viros, quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, [32]creditum abjuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci: prorsus multae [33]facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

XXVI. HIS rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proxumum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum [34]dolus, aut astutiæ deerant. Namque, a principio consulatus sui, multa pollicendo per Fulviam, effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paullo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam suum Antonium pactione [35]provinciae [36]perpulerat, [37]ne contra rempublicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque [38]clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies [39]comitiorum venit, et Catilinae neque petitio, neque insidiae quas [40]consulibus in campo fecerat, prospere cessere; constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte tentaverat, aspera foedaque evenerant.

XXVII. IGITUR C. Manlium Faesulas atque in [41]eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quemdam, [42]Camertem in [43]agrum Picenum, C. Julium in [44]Apuliam dimisit; praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri: consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus [45]obsidere: ipse [46]cum telo esse, item alios jubere: hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent: dies noctesque festinare,

vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo, ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus [47]intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Làecam: ibique, multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet, " se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: eum suis consiliis multum [48]obficere."

XXVIII. IGITUR, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius, senator, constituere [49]ea nocte paullo post, cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improviso domi suae imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi [50]intellegit quantum periculi consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam, dolum qui parabatur enunciat. Ita illi, janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul, ac dolore injuriae, novarum rerum cupidam, quod, Sullae dominatione, agros bonaque omnia amiserat; praeterea [51]latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex [52]Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. EA cum Ciceroni nunciarentur, [53]ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis [54]privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, [55]rem ad senatum refert, jam antea volgi rumoribus [56]exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque [57]in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, DARENT OPERAM CONSULES, NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. [58]Ea, potestas per senatum, more

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Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur; exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coërcere omnibus modis socios atque civis; domi militiaeque [59]imperium atque judicium summum habere: aliter, sine populi jussu, nulli [60]earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. POST paucos dies L. Saenius, senator, in senatu litteras [61]recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine, [62]ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant; alii conventus fieri, arma portari, [63]Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur, [64]senati decreto, Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam [65]circumque loca, missi: ii utrique [66]ad urbem imperatores erant; impediti, ne triumpharent, calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. [67]Sed praetores, Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; iisque permissum, "uti [68]pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent." Ad hoc, "si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et [69]sestertia centum; libero impunitatem ejus rei, et sestertia ducenta;" item [decrevere] "uti [70]gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur, pro cujusque opibus; Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur, iisque minores magistratus praeesent."

XXXI. QUIBUS rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies: ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit: festinare trepidare; neque loco, nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere; suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc, mulieres,

quibus, [71]reipublicae magnitudine, belli timor insolitus, [72]adflictare sese, manus supplices ad coelum tendere ; miserari parvos liberos ; rogitare, omnia pavere ; superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriaeque diffidere. At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, [73]tamen etsi praesidia parabantur, et ipse [74]lege Plautia interrogatus ab L. Paullo. Postremo, dissimulandi caussa, [75]atque sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum *M.* Tullius consul, sive praesentiam ejus timens, seu ira commotus, [76]orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicae ; quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed, [77]ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplici postulare, " Patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent : ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet : ne [78]aestumarent, sibi patricio homini, cujus ipsius, atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita republica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, [79]inquilinus civis urbis Romae." Ad hoc maledictia alia cum adderet ; obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus : " Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, " ab inimicis praeceps agor, [80]incendium meum ruina restinguam."

XXXII. DEIN se ex curia domum proripuit : ibi multa secum ipse volvens ; quod neque [81]insidiae consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, [82]optumum factum credens, exercitum augere, ac prius, quam legiones scriberentur, antecapere quae bello usui forent ; nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, [83]ceterisque quorum cognoverat promtam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora

parent : sese [84]prope diem cum magno exercitu [85]ad urbem accessurum. Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero ad Marcium Regem mittit, [86]cum mandatis hujuscemodi :

XXXIII. " DEOS hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum [87]homini faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent ; qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate foeneratorum, plerique patriae, sed omnes [88]fama atque fortunis, expertes sumus : neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum, [89]lege uti, neque, amisso patrimonio, [90]liberum corpus habere ; tanta saevitia foeneratorum atque praetoris fuit. Saepe majores vestrum, miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis suis inopiae opitulati sunt : ac novissume, memoria nostra, propter magnitudinen aeris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, [91]argentum aere solutum est. Saepe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum caussa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt : sed libertatem, quam nemo [92]bonus, nisi cum anima simul, amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, [93]consulatis miseris civibus ; legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis : neve eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quaeramus, [94]quonam modo ulti maxume sanguinem nostrum pereamus."

XXXIV. AD haec Q. [95]Marcius : ' Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, [96]ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur : ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.' At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea [97]optumo cuique, litteras mittit : " se falsis criminibus circumventum,

quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, [98]Massiliam in exilium proficisci; non [99]quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius; sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur." Ab his longe diversas [litteras] Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat: earum exemplum infra scriptum.

XXXV. "L. CATILINA Q. Catulo [100]S. [1]Egregia tua fides, re cognita, gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. [2]Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare; satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, [3]quam, [4]me dius fidius, veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod, fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus, [5]statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi: non quin aes alienum meis [6]nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, cum alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae, suis filiaeque copiis, persolveret: sed quod non dignos homines [7]honore honestatos videbam, meque [8]falsa suspicione alienatum sentiebam. [9]Hoc nomine satis honestas, pro meo casu, spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus. Plura cum scribere vellem, nunciatum est, vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuaeque fidei trado: eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos [10]rogatus. [11]Haveto."

XXXVI. SED ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium Flammam in agro [12]Arretino, dum vicinitatem, antea sollicitatam, armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae comperta; senatus "Catilinam et Manlium hostes judicat; ceterae multitudini diem statuit, ante quam [13]sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, [14]praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis." Praeterea decernit, "uti

consules [15]dilectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi praesidio sit." Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxume miserabile visum: cui cum, ad occasum ab ortu solis, omnia domita armis [16]paterent, domi otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluerent; fuere tamen cives qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque, [17]duobis senati decretis, ex tanta multitudine, neque praemio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. NEQUE solum illis [18]aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis; sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinae incepta probabat. Id [19]adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quis opes nullae sunt, [20]bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur; quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana [21]plebes, ea vero praeceps ierat multis de caussis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume praestabant; item alii [22]per dedecora patrimoniis amissis; postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat; ii Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant. Deinde, multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod, ex [23]gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, uti [24]regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, [25]si in armis forent, ex victoria talia sperabant. Praeterea, juventus, quae in agris, manuum mercede, inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerant. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum, homines egentis,

malis moribus, maxuma spe, [26]reipublicae juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Praeterea, quorum, victoria Sullae, parentes proscripti, bona erepta, [27]jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum exspectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum [28]atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quam minus valere ipsi, malebant. [29]Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

XXXVIII. NAM, postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus, [30]tribunicia potestas restituta, homines adolescentes, [summam potestatem nacti] quibus aetas animusque ferox, coepere, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein, largiundo atque pollicitando, magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, [31]senati specie, pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis [32]absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honestis [33]nominibus, alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars, quo senati auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant: neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. SED, postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum [34]maritimum atque [35]Mithridaticum missus; plebis opes imminutae, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere: ipsi [36]innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere; ceteros [37]judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu [38]placidius tractarent. Sed, ubi primum [39]dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quod si primo praelio Catilina superior, aut aequa manu discessisset; profecto magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset, neque illis, qui victoriam adepti, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extor-

queret. Fuere tamen [40]extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt: in his A. Fulvius, senatoris filius; quem, retractum ex itinere, [41]parens necari jussit. Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum cives, sed cujusquemodi genus hominum, quod modo [bello] usui foret.

XL. IGITUR P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos [42]Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli; existumans, publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea, quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia [43]negotiatus, plerisque principibus notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere coepit, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?" Postquam illos videt "queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset: miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare:" "at ego," inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis."' Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti, Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum, neque tam difficile, [44]quin cupidissume facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit; quod foro propinqua, neque aliena consilii, propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus[45] ab Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium accessit, [46]quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo praesente conjurationem aperit; nominat socios, praeterea multos cujusque generis [47]innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset; dein eos pollicitos operam suam dimittit.

XLI. SED Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae: at in altera [48]majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe, certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cujus [49]patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam [consilio] cognito, legatis praecepit, [50]studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, [51]bene polliceantur; deinque operam, uti eos quam maxume manifestos habeant.

XLII. ISDEM fere temporibus in [52]Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, [53]Bruttio, Apulia, motus erat. Namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam [cuncta simul] [54]agere: nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer praetor, ex senati consulto, caussa cognita, in vincula conjecerat; item in [55]ulteriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciae legatus praeerat.

XLIII. AT Romae Lentulus, cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut [56]videbantur, magnis copiis, [57]constituerant, uti, Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis, concione habita, quereretur de [58]actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissumi [59]invidiam optumo consuli imponeret; eo signo, proxuma nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequerentur. Sed ea [60]divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quò tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem, ceterosque, quibus insidiae parabantur, fieret: Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret,

eum vi adgrederetur, [61]alius autem alium: sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars, parentes interficerent; simul, caede et incendio perculsis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter haec parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et [62]dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse; seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus, maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. SED Allobroges, ex praecepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium ceteros [63]conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, postulant [64]jusjurandum, quod [65]signatum ad civis perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant: Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus [cum his] T. Volturcium quemdam, [66]Crotoniensem, mittit, uti Allobroges prius, quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data et accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum: "Quis sim, ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, [67]in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum; consideres, quid tuae [68]rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis." Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat: "cum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse, quae jusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere."

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, qua proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomtino, praetoribus, imperat, uti in ponte [69]Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum [70]comitatus deprehendant: rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur:

[71]cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. [72]Homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venere, et simul utrimque clamor exortus est; Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; dein, ubi a legatis desertus est, [73]multa prius de salute sua Pomtinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus, ac vitae diffidens, veluti hostibus, sese praetoribus dedit.

XLVI. QUIBUS rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere. Nam [74]laetabatur, conjuratione patefacta, civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porro autem anxius erat, in maxumo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem [75]perdundae reipublicae credebat. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Q. Coeparium quemdam, [76]Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: Coeparius, paullo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio, [ex urbe] profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens [77]perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, [78]magnaque frequentia ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit: Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. VOLTURCIUS interrogatus "de itinere, de litteris, postremo [79]quid, aut qua de caussa consilii habuisset?" primo fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi [80]fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit: "paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Coepario

socium adscitum, nihil amplius scire, quam legatos: tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea conjuratione esse." Eadem Galli fatentur; ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, praeter litteras, sermonibus, quos habere solitus: "ex libris [81]Sibyllinis, regnum Romae tribus [82]Corneliis portendi: Cinnam atque Sullam antea; se tertium, cui fatum foret urbis [83]potiri: praeterea ab [84]incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis [85]haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore." Igitur, perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, "uti [86]abdicatus magistratu Lentulus, item ceteri in [87]liberis custodiis haberentur." Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum [88]aedilis, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Coeparius (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

XLVIII. INTEREA plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quae primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat, mutata mente, Catilinae consilia exsecrari. Ciceronem ad coelum tollere: veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque laetitiam agitabant. Namque alia belli facinora praedae magis, quam [89]detrimento; incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxume calamitosum putabat; quippe cui [90]omnes copiae in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem, quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is cum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset; jussus a consule, quae sciret, edicere, eadem fere, quae Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum edocet: praeterea, "se missum a M. Crasso, [91]qui Catilinae nunciaret, [92]ne Lentulus, Cethegus, alii ex

conjuratione deprehensi terrerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum [93]animos reficeret, et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur." Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia; [94]alii, rem incredibilem rati; pars, tamen etsi verum existumabant, tamen, quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis [95]leniunda, quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant," indicem falsum," deque ea re postulant [96]uti referatur. Itaque, consulente Cicerone, frequens senatus decernit: "Tarquinii indicium falsum videri; eumque in [97]vinculis retinendum, neque amplius [98]potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem mentitus esset." Erant eo tempore, qui aestumarent, illud a P. Autronio machinatum, [99]quo facilius, adpellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone [100]immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo, suscepto malorum patrocinio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea [1]praedicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

XLIX. SED isdem temporibus [2]Q. Catulus et [3]C. Piso, neque gratia, neque precibus, neque [4]pretio, Ciceronem impellere [5]potuere, uti per Allobroges, aut alium indicem, C. Caesar, falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant; Piso obpugnatus in judicio [6]repetundarum, propter cujusdam [7]Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus [8]ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod, extrema aetate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab [9]adolescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. Res autem [10]opportuna videbatur; quod privatim egregia liberalitate, [11]publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed, ubi consulem ad tantum facinus im-

pellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumeundo, atque ementiundo, quae se ex Volturcio, aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque [12]eo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui, praesidii caussa, cum telis erant circum [13]Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi [14]nobilitate impulsi, quo studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu [15]Caesari gladio minitarentur.

L. DUM haec in senatu [16]aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio comprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernuntur; [17]liberti, et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant [18]duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti; Cethegus autem, per nuncios, [19]familiam atque [20]libertos suos, exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, [21]grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, [22]refert, QUID DE HIS FIERI PLACEAT, QUI IN CUSTODIAM TRADITI ERANT. Sed eos, paullo ante, frequens senatus judicaverat, CONTRA REMPUBLICAM FECISSE. [23]Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore [24]consul designatus erat, de his qui in custodiis tenebantur, praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat: isque postea, permotus oratione C. Caesaris, [25]pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quod de ea re, praesidiis additis, referundum censuerat. Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

LI. "OMNIS homines, Patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia, vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum pro-

videt, ubi illa obficiunt; neque quisquam omnium [26]lubidini simul et usui paruit. [27]Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet: si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia memorandi, P. C. qui reges [28]atque populi, ira, aut misericordia impulsi, male consuluerint: sed ea malo dicere, quae majores nostri, [29]contra lubidinem animi, recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege [30]Perse gessimus, [31]Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque adversa nobis fuit: sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis, quam injuriae [32]caussa, bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginienses et in pace, et [33]per inducias, multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi [34]per occasionem talia fecere: magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid [35]in illis jure fieri posset, quaerebant. Hoc idem providendum est, Patres conscripti, [36]ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus, quam vestra dignitas; neu magis, irae, quam famae, consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, [37]novum consilium adprobo: sin magnitudo sceleris [38]omnium ingenia exsuperat, [39]iis utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, [40]composite atque magnifice [41]casum reipublicae miserati sunt: quae belli saevitia, quae victis acciderent, enumeravere; divelli liberos a parentium complexu; matres familiarum pati, quae victoribus collibuissent; fanaque atque domos exspoliari; caedem, incendia fieri; postremo, armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis! [42]quo illa oratio pertinuit? an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? Scilicet quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum ora-

tio accendet! Non ita est: neque cuiquam mortalium injuriae suae parvae videntur: multi eas gravius aequo habuere. Sed aliis alia licentia, Patres conscripti. [43]Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna pares sunt: qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. [44]Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est: neque studere, neque odisse, sed minume irasci decet: quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, in imperio superbia atque crudelitas adpellatur. Equidem ego sic [45]aestumo, Patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores, quam facinora illorum, esse: sed plerique mortales [46]postrema meminere, et [47]in hominibus impiis sceleris obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paullo severior fuit. D. Silanum, virum [48]fortem atque strenuum, certe scio, quae dixerit, [49]studio reipublicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam, aut inimicitias exercere; [50]eos mores, eam modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia non mihi crudelis, quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest? sed [51]aliena a republica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus, aut [52]injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, cum, [53]praesenti diligentia clarissumi viri, consulis, tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; [54]ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis! quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur? an, quia [55]lex Porcia vetat? at aliae leges item condemnatis civibus animam non eripi, sed [56]in exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari, quam necari? quid autem acerbum, aut grave

nimis in homines tanti facinoris convictos ? sin, quia levius; [57]qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in majore neglexeris ? [58]At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicae decretum erit ? [59]Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidit, quidquid evenerit : ceterum vos, Patres conscripti, quid [60]in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex [61]bonis orta sunt ; sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud [exemplum] ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo coepere pessumum quemque et omnibus invisum [62]indemnatum necare : [63]ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri. Post, ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos [64]lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas servitute oppressa, stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. Nostra memoria, victor Sulla cum [65]Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicae creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat ? homines scelestos, factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam, uti quisque domum, aut villam, postremo, aut vas, aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita, quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, post paullo ipsi trahebantur : neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. [66]Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus, vereor : sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest, alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manus, falsum aliquid pro vero credi : ubi hoc exemplo, per senati decretum, consul gladium eduxerit, quis finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur ? Majores

nostri, Patres conscripti, neque consilii, neque audaciae umquam eguere: neque superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab [67]Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab [68]Tuscis pleraque sumserunt: postremo, quod ubique apud socios, aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari, quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed, eodem illo tempore, Graeciae morem imitati, verberibus [69]animadvertebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valuere, circumveniri innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri coepere; tum lex Porcia aliaeque paratae, quibus legibus exilium damnatis permissum. Hanc ego caussam, Patres conscripti, [70]quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. [71]Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea [72]bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinae? minume: sed ita censeo; publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia quae maxume opibus valent; [73]neu quis de is postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare, eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium facturum."

LII. POSTQUAM Caesar dicendi finem fecit, [74]ceteri verbo, alius alii, varie adsentiebantur: at [75]M. Porcius Cato rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem habuit. "Longe mihi [76]alia mens est, Patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, [77]aris atque focis suis, bellum paravere: res autem monet, cavere ab illis, [78]quam,

quid in illis statuamus, consultare. Nam [79]cetera tum [80]persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra [81]judicia implores; capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis! vos ego adpello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, [82]tabulas vestras pluris, quam rempublicam fecistis: si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quae [83]amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium praebere voltis; expergiscimini aliquando, et [84]capessite rempublicam. [85]Non agitur de vectigalibus, non de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Saepenumero, Patres conscripti, multa verba [86]in hoc ordine feci; saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea caussa advorsos habeo; [87]qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma; [88]opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, [89]bonis an malis moribus vivamus; neque quantum, aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani: [90]sed cujus haec cumque modi, nostra, an nobiscum una, hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? jam pridem equidem nos vera rerum [91]vocabula amisimus; quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur: [92]eo respublica in extremo sita. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes [93]in furibus aerarii: [94]ne illis sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene et composite C. Caesar paullo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, falsa, credo, existumans, quae de inferis memorantur; [95]diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, foeda atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit PECUNIAS

EORUM PUBLICANDAS, IPSOS PER MUNICIPIA IN CUSTODIIS HABENDOS; videlicet [96]timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis, aut [97]a multitudine conducta, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium, si periculum ex illis metuit: sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, [98]eo magis refert mihi atque vobis timere. Quare, cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. [99]Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paullulum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existumare, majores nostros [100]armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus: quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum major nobis copia, quam illis. Sed alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, [1]quae nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris justum imperium, [2]animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto, neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae, aut gratiae servitis: eo fit, ut impetus fiat in [3]vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego haec omitto. Conjuravere nobilissumi cives patriam incendere: Gallorum gentem infestissumam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt: dux hostium [4]supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid intra moenia adprehensis hostibus faciatis? [5]Misereamini censeo; deliquere homines

adolescentuli per ambitionem; atque etiam armatos dimittatis. [6]Ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet. [7]Scilicet res aspera est; sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxume; sed inertia et mollitia animi, alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, dîs immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maxumis saepe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque [8]suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo [9]prospera omnia [10]cedunt: ubi secordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros, T. Manlius Torquatus [11]bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit; atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit: vos de crudelissumis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? [12]Videlicet vita cetera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dîs aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit: ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiae, nisi [13]iterum patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Coepario loquar? quibus [14]si quidquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republica habuissent. Postremo, Patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer, vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu [15]faucibus urget: alii intra moenia, in sinu urbis sunt hostes: [16]neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occulte potest; quo magis properandum. Quare ita ego censeo: cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii, et legatorum Allobrogum, convicti confessique sint, caedem, incendia, alia foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse; de

confessis, sicuti de [17]manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum."

LIII. POSTQUAM Cato adsedit, consulares omnes, itemque senatus magna pars, sententiam ejus [18]laudant, [19]virtutem animi ad coelum ferunt; alii alios increpantes timidos vocant; Cato magnus atque clarus habetur; senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quae populus Romanus, domi militiaeque, mari atque terra, praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quae res maxume tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam, saepenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse: cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc, saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse; facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa [20]agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est; rursus respublica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, veluti [21]effoeta parente, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, [22]ingenti virtute divorsi moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato, et C. Caesar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire, non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. IGITUR his genus, aetas, eloquentia, prope aequalia fuere; magnitudo animi par, item gloria; sed [23]alia alii. Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur; integritate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus: [24]huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar [25]dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus. In altero miseris perfugium;

in altero malis pernicies: illius [26]facilitas; hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo, Caesar [27]in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua neglegere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium [28]modestiae, decoris, sed maxume [29]severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat: esse, quam videri, bonus malebat: ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis sequebatur.

LV. POSTQUAM, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul [30]optumum factum ratus, noctem quae instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, [31]triumviros, quae supplicium postulabat, parare jubet: ipse, dispositis praesidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit: idem fit ceteris per praetores. Est [32]locus in carcere, quod [33]Tullianum adpellatur, ubi paullulum [34]escenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper [35]camera, [36]lapideis fornicibus vincta: sed [37]incultu, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus Lentulus, [38]quibus praeceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex clarissuma gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Coepario, eodem modo supplicium sumtum.

LVI. DUM ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni [39]copia, quam et ipse adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat, [40]duas legiones instituit; cohortes, pro numero militum, complet: deinde, ut quisque voluntarius, aut ex sociis in castra venit, aequaliter distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones [41]numero

hominum expleverat, cum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, [42]sparos, aut lanceas, alii [43]praeacutas sudes portabant. Sed, postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montes iter facere, ad urbem modo, modo in Galliam [44]versus castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat prope diem [45]sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, [46]cujus initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul [47]alienum suis rationibus [existumans] videri caussam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

LVII. SED, postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romae conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo, Cethego, ceteris, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumtum; plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montis asperos, magnis itineribus, in agrum [48]Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte [49]perfugerent in [50]Galliam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, [51]ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movet, ac [52]sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat [in Galliam properanti.] Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat; [53]utpote qui magno exercitu, locis aequioribus [54]expeditus, in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugae, neque [55]praesidii ullam spem; optumum factum ratus, in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quamprimum confligere. Itaque, concione advocata, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

LVIII. "COMPERTUM ego habeo, milites, [56]verba virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum, oratione imperatoris, fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura, aut [57]moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet: quem neque gloria, neque pericula excitant, nequidquam hortere; timor animi auribus obficit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem advocavi; simul uti caussam consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, secordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc [58]quo in loco res nostrae sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, [59]unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia, obstant: diutius in his locis esse, [60]si maxume animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis; et, cum praelium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta, commeatus abunde, coloniae atque municipia patebunt: sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fiunt: neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus; [61]illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro potentia paucorum. [62]Quo audacius adgredimini, memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit nobis, cum summa turpitudine, in exilio aetatem agere: potuistis nonnulli Romae, amissis bonis, alienas opes expectare. Quia illa foeda atque intoleranda [63]viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. Si [64]relinquere voltis, audacia opus est: nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, [65]cum arma, [66]quîs corpus

tegitur, ab hostibus [67]averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in praelio maxumum est periculum, [68]qui maxume timent: audacia pro muro habetur. Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vestra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus vestra hortantur; praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae. Quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete, [69]inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potius, sicuti pecora, trucidemini, quam, virorum more pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

LIX. HAEC ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus, signa canere jubet, atque [70]instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit: dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus, exaequato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse [71]pedes exercitum, [72]pro loco atque copiis, instruit. [73]Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis, et ab dextra rupe aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit: [74]reliqua signa in subsidio artius collocat. [75]Ab his centuriones omnis lectos, et [76]evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque armatum, in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextera, Faesulanum quemdam in sinistra parte curare jubet: ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam [77]adsistit, quam, bello [78]Cimbrico, C. Marius in exercitu habuisse decebatur. At ex altera parta C. Antonius, [79]pedibus aeger, quod praelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas [80]tumulti caussa conscripserat, in fronte; post eas, ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans adpellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint, se contra latrones [81]inermos, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis, [82]cernere. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta [83]tribunus, aut [84]praefec-

tus, aut legatus, aut praetor cum magna gloria fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LX. SED ubi, rebus omnibus exploratis, Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortis paullatim incedere jubet: idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum, unde a [85]ferentariis praelium committi posset, maxumo clamore [86]cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare: illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis [87]arcessere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire: strenui militis, et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere [88]cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit; eos perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus adgreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinae dignitatis, [89]in confertissumos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. SED, confecto praelio, tum vero cerneres, quanta audacia, quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere, quem quisque [90]pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos cohors praetoria disjecerat, [91]paullo diversius, sed omnes tamen [92]adversis volneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis, inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in voltu retinens. Postremo, ex omni copia, neque in praelio, neque in fuga, quisquam [93]civis ingenuus

captus. Ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae [94]juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus: nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in praelio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris, visundi, aut spoliandi gratia, processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem, aut cognatum reperiebant: fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum [95]laetitia, moeror; luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

C. CRISPI
SALLUSTII
BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

C. CRISPI

SALLUSTII

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

FALSO queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod, [1]imbecilla atque aevi brevis, [2]forte potius, quam virtute regatur. Nam contra, reputando, neque majus aliud neque praestabilius invenias; magisque naturae industriam hominum, [3]quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est: qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde [4]pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortunae eget; [5]quippe probitatem, industriam, alias artis bonas neque dare, neque eripere potest. [6]Sin, captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam et voluptatis corporis pessum datus est; [7]perniciosa lubidine paullisper usus, ubi per secordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur: [8]suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. [9]Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque etiam periculosa, petunt; neque regerentur magis, quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent, [10]ubi, pro mortalibus, gloria aeterni fierent.

II. NAM, uti genus hominum compositum ex anima et corpore, ita res cunctae, studiaque omnia nostra, corpo-

ris alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur [11]praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis, alia hujuscemodi omnia brevi dilabuntur; at [12]ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. [13]Postremo, corporis et fortunae bonorum, ut initium, finis est: omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus, [14]aeternus, rector humani generis. [15]agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam aetatem agunt; ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, [16]incultu atque secordia torpescere sinunt; cum praesertim tam multae variaeque sint [17]artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. VERUM [18]ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo [19]omnis cura rerum publicarum, minume mihi hac tempestate cupiunda videntur: quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, [20]quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam, aut [21]parentes, quamquam et possis, et [22]delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est; cum praesertim [23]omnes rerum mutationes caedem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant: frustra autem niti, neque aliud [24]fatigando, nisi odium, quaerere, extremae dementiae est; nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet, potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam [25]gratificari.

IV. CETERUM, ex aliis negotiis [26]quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est [27]memoria rerum gestarum: cujus de [28]virtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto; simul, ne, [29]per insolentiam, quis existumet, memet, [30]studium laudando, extollere. Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a republica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant: [31]certe, quib

maxuma industria videtur, [32]salutare plebem, et conviviis gratiam quaerere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego [33]temporibus magistratus adeptus sum, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quae genera hominum in senatum pervenerint; profecto existumabunt, me magis [34]merito, quam ignavia, judicium animi mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicae venturum. Nam saepe audivi, [35]Q. Maxumum, [36]P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, CUM MAJORUM [37]IMAGINES INTUERENTUR, VEHEMENTISSUME SIBI ANIMUM AD VIRTUTEM ACCENDI. [38]Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed, memoria rerum gestarum, eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus [39]eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit. At contra, quis est omnium [40]his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum majoribus suis contendat? etiam homines [41]novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et [42]per latrocinia potius [quam bonis artibus] ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi praetura et consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi, per se ipsa clara, magnifica sint, ac non [43]perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui sustinent virtus est. Verum ego [44]liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque: nunc ad inceptum [45]redeo.

V. BELLUM scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha, rege [46]Numidarum, gessit: primum, quia magnum et atrox, [47]variaque victoria fuit: dein, quia tum primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est; quae contentio [48]divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordiam processit, uti [49]studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. Sed, priusquam hujuscemodi rei

initium expedio, [50]pauca supra repetam; [51]quo, ad cognoscendum, omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal, [52]post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiae opes maxume adtriverat, Masinissa, rex Numidarum, [53]in amicitia receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat: ob quae, victis Carthaginiensibus, et capto [54]Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus, quascumque urbis et agros manu ceperat, [55]regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit: [56]imperii vitaeque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa, filius, regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa, fratribus, morbo [57]absumtis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit; Jugurthamque, Mastanabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem [58]cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. QUI ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non se [59]luxu, neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare: et, [60]cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse: ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras [61]primus, aut in primis ferire: plurimum facere, minumum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthae regno suo gloriae fore; tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, [62]exacta sua aetate, parvis liberis, [63]magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat natura mortalium, avida [64]imperii, et [65]praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: [66]praeterea opportunitas suaeque et liberorum

aetatis quae etiam mediocris viros spe praedae transvorsos agit: ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum interfecisset, ne qua seditio, aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque insidiis, opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum [67]popularibus; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur, bello [68]Numantino, Micipsa cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans, vel [69]ostentando virtutem, vel hostium [70]saevitia, facile occasurum, praefecit Numidis quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat [71]impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator, et [72]morem hostium cognovit; multo labore, multaque cura, praeterea modestissume parendo, et saepe obviam eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillumum in primis est, et praelio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio; quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem [73]adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnis fere [74]res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, [75]magis magisque in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium, neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi, et [76]ingenii solertia, quîs rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuerè complures, novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiae bono honestoque [77]potiores erant, factiosi, domi potentes, [78]apud socios clari magis, quam honesti: qui Jugurthae [79]non mediocrem an

imum pollicitando accendebant, SI MICIPSA REX OCCIDISSET, FORE, UTI SOLUS IMPERII NUMIDIAE POTIRETUR: IN IPSO MAXUMAM VIRTUTEM, ROMAE OMNIA VENALIA ESSE. Sed, postquam Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, ipse [80]revorti domum decrevit; donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in [81]praetorium abduxit, ibique secreto monuit, "uti potius [82]publice, quam privatim amicitiam populi R. coleret; neu [83]quibus largiri insuesceret: periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis [84]artibus, [85]ultro illi et gloriam, et regnum venturum; sin [86]properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum."

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit: earum sententia haec erat. "Jugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit; quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse: nobis ob merita carus est: uti idem senatui sit et populo Romano, summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem [87]pro nostra amicitia gratulor: en habes virum dignum te, atque avo suo Masinissa." [88]Igitur rex, ubi, quae fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, [89]cum virtute viri, tum gratia permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est; statimque adoptavit, et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, morbo atque aetate confectus, cum sibi finem vitae adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis, item Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba [90]cum Jugurtha habuisse.

X. "PARVUM ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, [91]in meum regnum accepi; existumans non minus me tibi quam [92]liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore: neque ea res [93]falsum habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia [94]tua omittam, novissume, rediens Numantia,

meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti: tua virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissumos fecisti: in Hispania nomen familiae renovatum: postremo, quod difficillumum inter mortalis, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura vitae finem facit, per hanc dextram, [95]per regni fidem moneo obtestorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. [96]Non exercitus, neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: [97]officio et fide pariuntur. [98]Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae [99]dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te, Jugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam, in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit injuriam, quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos [100]sumsisse videar, quam genuisse."

XI. AD ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem [1]ficta locutum intellegebat, et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis [2]diebus moritur. Postquam illi, more regio, [3]justa magnifice fecerant, [4]reguli in unum convenere, uti inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis, natura ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthae [quia materno genere impar erat] despiciens, [5]dextra Adherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod [6]apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, uti aetati concederet, [7]fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram

transductus est. Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res [8]jacit: OPORTERE QUINQUENNII CONSULTA OMNIA ET DECRETA RESCINDI; NAM PER EA TEMPORA CONFECTUM ANNIS MICIPSAM PARUM ANIMO VALUISSE. Tum IDEM, Hiempsal, PLACERE SIBI, respondit; NAM [9]IPSUM ILLUM TRIBUS HIS PROXUMIS [ANNIS] ADOPTATIONE IN REGNUM PERVENISSE. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthae [10]altius, quam quisquam ratus, descendit. Itaque, ex eo tempore, [11]ira et metu anxius moliri, parare atque ea modo animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quae ubi [12]tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

XII. PRIMO conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, [13]propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros, finisque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. [14]Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere. Sed Hiempsal, in oppido Thirmida, forte ejus domo utebatur, qui, [15]proxumus lictor Jugurthae, carus acceptusque semper fuerat; quem ille casu ministrum oblatum, promissis onerat, [16]uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum [17]clavis adulterinas paret; nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur; ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi confecit; atque, ut doctus erat, noctu Jugurthae milites introducit. Qui postquam in aedis irrupere, [18]diversi regem quaerere: dormientis alios, alios occursantis interficere: scrutari loca abdita; clausa effringere: [19]strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere: cum Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans sese tugurio [20]mulieris ancillae, quo, initio, pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput ejus, ut jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

XIII. CETERUM fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur: Adherbalem omnisque, qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant, metus invadit: in duas [21]partis discedunt: plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed [22]illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maxumas potest copias armat; urbis partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit; omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal, tamen etsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis; tamen, fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed, ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex praelio profugit in [23]provinciam, ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum [24]Jugurtha, patratis consiliis, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque advorsus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam [25]mittit, quîs praecepit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus expleant; deinde novos adquirant; postremo, [26]quaecumque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed, ubi Romam legati venere, et, ex praecepto regis, hospitibus, aliisque, quorum ea tempestate auctoritas pollebat, [27]magna misere; tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxuma [28]invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; [29]quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo, nitebantur, [30]ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur, legati ubi satis confidunt, die constituto, senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. "PATRES conscripti, Micipsa, pater meus, moriens, praecepit, uti regnum Numidiae tantummodo [31]procuratione existumarem meum; ceterum [32]jus et imperium penes vos esse: simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam

maxumo usui esse populo Romano: vos mihi [33]cognatorum vos in adfinium locum ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni [34]habere. Quae cum [praecepta parentis mei] agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contemto imperio vestro, Masinissae me nepotem, [35]et jam ab stirpe socium et amicum [36]populo Romano, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem, potius ob mea, quam ob majorum beneficia posse auxilium petere; ac maxume deberi [37]mihi a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; [38]secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed, quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas, [39]neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod miserrumum, cogor prius oneri, quam usui esse. Ceteri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram adpetiverunt: familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit; [40]quo tempore magis fides ejus, quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil caussae haberem, praeter miserandam fortunam; quod paullo ante rex, genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc [41]deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto; tamen erat majestatis Romani populi, prohibere injuriam, [42]neque cujusquam regnum per scelus cresceret. Verum ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit; unde pater et avus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia erepta sunt, Patres conscripti; [43]vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia evasere, uti, quem tu parem cum liberis, regnique participem fecisti, is potissu

mum stirpis tuae extinctor sit? [44]Nunquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses [45]incolumes fuere, [46]jure omnia saeva patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa [47]pestis ejecta, laeti pacem agitabamus; quippe quîs hostis nullus, nisi forte quem jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improviso, Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia [48]sese ecferens, fratre meo, atque eodem propinquo suo. interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui praedam fecit: post, ubi me îsdem dolis nequit capere, [49]nihil minus, quam vim. aut bellum exspectantem, [50]in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, [51]extorrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius, quam in meo regno essem. Ego sic existumabam, Patres conscripti, ut praedicantem audiveram patrem meum: qui vestram [52]amicitiam colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere; ceterum ex omnibus maxume tutos esse. [53]Quod in familia nostrâ fuit, praestitit, uti in omnibus bellis vobis adessent: nos uti per otium tuti simus. in manu vestra est, Patres conscripti. Pater nos duos frates reliquit; tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus nobis conjunctum fore: alter eorum necatus. [54]alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quo potissumum infelix accedam? [55]Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt: pater, uti necesse erat, [56]naturae concessit: fratri, [57]quem minume decuit, propinquus, per scelus vitam eripuit: adfines, amicos, propinquos ceteros, alium alia clades oppressit: [58]capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti; pauci, quibus relicta anima, clausi in tenebris, cum moerore et luctu, morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quae aut amisi, aut ex [59]necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex [60]improviso accidisset,

vos implorarem, Patres conscripti; quibus, pro magnitudine imperii, jus et injurias omnis curae esse decet. Nunc vero exsul patria, domo, solus, et omnium [61]honestarum rerum egens, [62]quo accedam, aut quos adpellem? nationesne, an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae [63]ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam adire licet, ubi non [64]majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima? [65]aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo, Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore: si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, [66]una nobis occidendum esse. Virtute ac dîs volentibus magni estis et opulenti: omnia [67]secunda et obedientia sunt: quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud [68]vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthae, parum cognita, transvorsos agat: quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognita caussa, statuatis: [69]fingere me verba, fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. [70]Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miserias projectus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam; et aliquando ut apud vos, aut apud deos immortalis rerum humanarum cura oriatur: [71]ne ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatus, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum gravis poenas reddet. Jam jam, frater, animo meo carissume, quamquam immaturo, et unde minume decuit, vita erepta est; tamen laetandum magis, quam dolendum puto casum tuum; [72]non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem, et omnis has, quae me premunt, aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus [73][illegible] patrio reg

no, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam; tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, [74]an regno consulam, [75]cujus vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam [76]emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, [77]neu vivere contemtus viderer, si, defessus malis, injuriae concessissem. Nunc [78]neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, [79]liberos atque parentes, per majestatem populi R. subvenite misero mihi; ite obviam injuriae; nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere."

XV. POSTQUAM rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthae largitione magis, quam caussa freti, paucis respondent: "Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset: Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne alium putarent, ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent." Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, praeterea magna pars, gratia [80]depravati, Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus; [81]gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis [82]carius, [83]subveniundum Adherbali, et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant: sed ex omnibus maxume [84]Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum; ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem [85]famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne [86]polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit.

XVI. VICIT tamen in senatu pars illa, [87]qui vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebant. Decretum fit, UTI DECEM LEGATI REGNUM, QUOD MICIPSA OBTINUERAT, INTER JUGURTHAM ET ADHERBALEM DIVIDERENT : cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens ; quia consul, [88]C. Gracco et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrume [89]victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romae in amicis habuerat, tamen [90]adcuratissume recepit : dando et pollicitando perfecit, uti [91]fama, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via adgressus, plerosque capit : paucis carior fides, quam pecunia fuit. In divisione, quae pars Numidiae [92]Mauretaniam adtingit, agro, viris opulentior, Jugurthae traditur : illam alteram specie, quam usu, potiorem, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

XVII. RES postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere, et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem, aut asperitatem item solitudines [93]minus frequentata sunt, [94]de îs haud facile compertum narraverim : cetera quam paucissumis absolvam. In divisione orbis terrae plerique [95]in partem tertiam Africam posuere : [96]pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse ; sed Africam in Europa. Ea finis habet, ab occidente [97]fretum nostri maris et oceani ; ab ortu solis, [98]declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolae adpellant. [99]Mare saevum, importuosum : ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus : [100]coelo. terra, penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum : plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro, aut [1]bestiis interiere : nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat. Ad hoc, [2]malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui

mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint; [3]quamquam ab ea fama, quae plerosque obtinet, diversum est; tamen, uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terrae putant, quam paucissumis dicam. Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. AFRICAM initio habuere [4]Gaetuli et [5]Libyes, asperi, inculti; quîs cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. [6]Hi neque moribus, neque lege, neque imperio cujusquam regebantur: vagi, palantes, [7]qua nox coëgerat, sedes habebant. Sed, postquam in Hispania [8]Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim multis, sibi [9]quîque, imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero [10]Medi, [11]Persae et [12]Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proxumos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persae [13]intra oceanum magis: iique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emundi, aut mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paullatim per connubia Gaetulos [14]miscuere: et, quia saepe [15]tentantes agros, alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi [16]Numidas adpellavere. Ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta quasi navium carinae sunt. Medis autem et Armenis accessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant; Gaetuli [17]sub sole magis, haud procul [18]ab ardoribus) [19]hique mature oppida habuere; nam, [20]freto divisi ab Hispania, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis adpellantes. Sed res Persa-

rum brevi adolevit: [21]ac postea nomine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possidere ea loca, quae proxume Carthaginem Numidia adpellatur. Dein utrique, alteris freti, finitumos armis aut metu sub imperium cogere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis hi qui ad nostrum mare processerant: quia [22]Libyes, quam Gaetuli, minus bellicosi: denique Africae pars [23]inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est: victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium [24]concessere.

XIX. POSTEA Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitata plebe, et aliis novarum rerum avidis, [25]Hipponem [26]Hadrumetum, [27]Leptim, aliasque urbis in ora maritima condidere: haeque brevi multum auctae, pars originibus praesidio, aliae decori fuere: nam de [28]Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere; quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur [29]ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, [30]secundo mari, prima [31]Cyrene est, colonia [32]Thereôn, ac deinceps duae [33]Syrtes, interque eas [34]Leptis: dein [35]Philenôn arae, [36]quem, Aegyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses: [37]post aliae Punicae urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidae tenent: proxume Hispaniam Mauri sunt: [38]super Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare; post eos [39]Aethiopas esse; dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque [40]ex Punicis oppida, et finis Carthaginiensium, quos [41]novissume habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat: Gaetulorum magna pars, et [42]Numidia usque ad flumen [43]Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant: Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen, [44]cetera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello, neque pace, antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XX. POSTQUAM, regno diviso, legati Africa discessere, et Jugurtha contra timorem animi [45]praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis [46]animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus: at is [47]quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, [48]opportunus injuriae, metuens magis, quam metuendus. Igitur ex improviso, finis ejus cum magna manu invasit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia praeda capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit; dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existumans [49]dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli caussam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat, et amicitia populi Romani magis, quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit: qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum [50]sumere; [51]quia tentatum antea secus cesserat. Neque tamen eo magis cupido Jugurthae minuebatur: quippe qui totum ejus regnum [52]animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere coepit, et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. Ceterum, qua pergebat, urbis, agros vastare, praedas agere; suis animum, terrorem hostibus augere.

XXI. ADHERBAL ubi intellegit, eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat, et Jugurthae obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari, prope [53]Cirtam oppidum utriusque consedit exercitus: et, quia [54]die extremum erat, praelium non inceptum. Ubi plerumque noctis processit,

[55]obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos [56]partim, alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque: Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et, ni multitudo [57]togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumsedit, [58]vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur; maxume festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos, ante praelium factum, Romam ab Adherbale missos audiverat. Sed, postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, [tres adolescentes] in Africam legantur, qui ambo reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuncient, "[59]velle et censere, eos ab armis discedere; de controversiis suis jure potius, quam bello disceptare; ita [60]seque illisque dignum fore."

XXII. LEGATI in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis, quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de praelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur: sed is rumor [61]clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta [62]oratione respondit: "sibi neque majus quidquam, neque carius auctoritate senati: ab adolescentia ita enisum, uti ab optumo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse: [63]ob easdem artis ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum: ceterum, quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obviam isse: populum Romanum neque recte, neque [64]pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium [65]sese prohibuerint: postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum." Ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. JUGURTHA, ubi eos Africa [66]decessisse ratus est,

neque, propter loci naturam, Cirtam armis expugnare potest; [67]vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, [68]turris exstruit, easque praesidiis firmat: praeterea dies, noctes, aut per vim, aut dolis tentare; [69]defensoribus moenium praemia modo, modo formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal, ubi intellegit omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse; ex his, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duo maxume impigros, delegit, eos multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proxumum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

XXIV. NUMIDAE paucis diebus jussa efficiunt: litterae Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit. "'Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthae subigit: quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, uti neque vos, neque deos immortalis [70]in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, [71]quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem, socius et amicus populi Romani, armis obsessus teneor: neque mihi Micipsae patris beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur: ferro, an fame acrius [72]urguear, incertus sum. [73]Plura de Jugurtha scribere, dehortatur fortuna mea: etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse: [74]nisi tamen intellego, illum supra, quam ego sum, petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram, et regnum meum sperare: utrum [75]gravius existumet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem meum; dein patrio regno me expulit:—[76]quae sane fuerint nostrae injuriae, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet: me, quem imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum [77] obsidet: legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea de-

clarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et haec quae scribo, et quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed, quoniam eo natus sum, [78]ut Jugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque aerumnas, [79]tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiae, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite: me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, [80]per amicitiae fidem; si ulla apud vos memoria [81]avi mei, Masinissae."

XXV. HIS litteris recitatis, fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quam primum Adherbali subveniundum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam non paruisset legatis. Sed ab îsdem regis fautoribus summa ope [82]enisum, ne [83]decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis [84]honoribus: in quîs M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, et tum senati [85]princeps. Hi, quod [86]in invidia res erat simul, et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim [87]escendere: dein brevi [88]Uticam adpulsi, litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, QUAM OCISSUME AD PROVINCIAM ACCEDAT; SEQUE AD EUM AB SENATU MISSOS. Ille ubi accepit, homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse; primo commotus, metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, [ni paruisset legatis:] porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. [89]Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxume sperans, diducta manu hostium, aut vi, aut dolis, sese casum victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius,

quam legatos conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur: ne amplius morando, Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac, tamen etsi senati verbis minae graves nunciabantur, quod oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumta, legati frustra discessere.

XXVI. Ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi, deditione facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque, et oppidum Jugurthae tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur, de ceteris senatui curae fore. At ille, tametsi omnia [90]potiora fide Jugurthae rebatur; quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem [91]excruciatum necat: dein omnis [92]puberes, Numidas et negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvius, interfecit.

XXVII. Quod postquam Romae cognitum, et res in senatu agitari coepta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando, ac saepe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac, ni C. Memmius, [93]tribunus plebis designatus, [94]vir acer, et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, [95]ID AGI, UTI PER PAUCOS FACTIOSOS JUGURTHAE SCELUS CONDONARETUR, [96]profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa erat: tanta vis gratiae, atque pecuniae regis. Sed, ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, [97]lege Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretae: consules declarantur P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia [98]obvenit: deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, [99]scribitur: stipendium, alia, quae bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto,

quippe cui, Romae omnia [100]venum ire, in animo haeserat; filium, et cum eo duo familiaris, ad senatum legatos mittit: hisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecepit, "omnis mortalis pecunia adgrediantur." [1]Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus, PLACERETNE LEGATOS JUGURTHAE [2]RECIPI MOENIBUS: iique decrevere, "nisi regnum, ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus [proxumis] decem Italia decederent." [3]Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, [4]legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quae deliquisset, [5]munita fore sperabat: in quîs fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia praepediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissumus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam [6]Rhegium, atque inde [7]Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam, transvectae. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multos mortalis, et urbis aliquot pugnando capit.

XXIX. SED, ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere coepit, [8]animus aeger avaritia facile conversus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus: qui, tametsi a principio, plerisque [9]ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrume regem impugnaverat; [10]tamen, magnitudine pecuniae, a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existumans, sese aliquid interim Romae pretio, aut gratia effecturum: postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum acceperat; in maxumam spem adductus recuperandae pacis, statuit cum eis [11]de omnibus

pactionibus praesens agere. Ceterum interea, [12]fidei caussa, mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Jugurthae [13]Vagam; cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam [14]deditionis mora induciae agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit; ac pauca, [15]praesenti consilio, locutus de invidia facti, atque in deditionem [16]uti acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit: dein postero die, [17]quasi per saturam exquisitis sententiis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti [18]pro consilio imperatum, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam [19]ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. POSTQUAM res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actae forent, fama divulgavit, Romae per omnis locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari: apud plebem gravis invidia: [20]Patres probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat. Ac maxume eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur, a vero, bono impediebat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari: monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam desererent: multa superba, crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam ea tempestate [21]Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi, unam ex tam multis orationem [23]perscribere; [24]ac potissumum, quae in concione, post reditum Bestiae, hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.

XXXI. "MULTA dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium reipublicae omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra

patientia, jus nullum, ac maxume, quod innocentiae plus periculi, quam honoris, est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv. quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum; quam foede, quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores; [26]ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque secordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, [27]obnoxiis inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed, quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit: certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente tradita est experiar: verum id frustra, an ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm, Quirites. Neque ego hortor, quod saepe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil [28]secessione opus: necesse est [29]suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. Occiso Tiberio Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam [30]quaestiones habitae sunt: post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvii caedem, item multi vestri ordinis in carcere necati sunt: [31]utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. [32]Sed sane fuerit regni paratio, plebi sua restituere: quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini, aerarium expilari; reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et [33]summam gloriam, et maxumas divitias esse: tamen haec talia facinora impune suscepisse, parum habuere: itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui fecere, pudet aut poenitet: sed incedunt [34]per ora vestra magnifice, sacerdotia et consulatus, [illegible] triumphos suos [35]ostentantes: perinde quasi honori, [illegible] praedae habeant. Servi aere parati imperia injusta dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, imperio nati, aequo animo servitutem toleratis. At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? homines sceleratissumi, cruentis

manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissumi, idemque superbissumi; quîs fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt. Pars eorum [36]occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones injustas, plerique caedem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque [37]pessume fecit, tam maxume tutus est: metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere; quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit: sed haec inter bonos amicitia est, [38]inter malos *factio*. Quod si [39]tam libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et [40]beneficia vestra penes optumos, non audacissumos, forent. Majores vestri, [41]parandi juris et majestatis constituendae gratia, bis, per secessionem, armati [42]Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, [43]quod majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse? Dicet aliquis, Quid igitur censes? [44]Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam: non manu, neque vi, [45]quod magis fecisse, quam illis accidisse indignum; verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthae: qui si dediticius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis, qualis illa pax, aut deditio, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae divitiae, in rempublicam damna, dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa, quam haec tempora, magis placent, cum regna, provinciae, leges, jura, judicia, bella, paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam reti-

nere: nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? Atque ego, tamen etsi viro flagitiosissumum existumo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissumis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in perniciem [46]casura esset. Nam et illis, [47]quantum importunitatis habent, parum est, impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur: et vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intellegetis, aut serviundum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem, aut concordiae quae spes? dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere: postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. [48]Potestne in tam divorsis mentibus pax, aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non [49]peculatus aerarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae: quae quamquam gravia, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrumo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum: domi militiaeque respublica venalis fuit. Quae nisi quaesita erunt, ni vindicatum in noxios, quid reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? nam impune quae libet facere, [50] id est regem esse. Neque ego, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis civis vestros perperam, quam recte fecisse; sed ne, ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc, in republica multo praestat beneficii quam maleficii immemorem esse: bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi neglegas; at malus improbior. [51]Ad hoc, si injuriae non sint, haud saepe auxilii egeas."

XXXII. HAEC atque alia hujuscemodi saepe dicundo, Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, [52]interposita fide publi-

ca, [53]Romam duceret; quo facilius, indicio regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniae captae arcessebant, delicta patefierent. Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris, plurima et flagitiosissuma facinora fecere. Fuere qui, auro corrupti, elephantos Jugurthae traderent: alii perfugas [54]vendere: pars ex [55]pacatis praedas agebant: tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius, [56]perlata rogatione a C. Memmio, ac perculsa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur: ei timido, et [57]ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet, "[58]quo se populo Romano dedidisset, ne vim, quam misericordiam, experiri mallet." Privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio.

XXXIII. IGITUR Jugurtha, [59]contra decus regium, [60]cultu quam maxume miserabili, cum Cassio Romam venit: ac, tamen etsi in ipso [61]magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta gesserat, C. Baebium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia [62]contra jus et injurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione; quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in [63]vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi; dignitati, quam irae magis consulens, sedare motus, et animos mollire, [64]postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Jugurtha, [65]verba facit, Romae Numidiaque facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem, fratresque ostendit: "[66]quibus juvantibus, quibusque ministris egerit, quamquam intellegat populus Romanus; tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere: si [67]vera aperiret, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam: sin

reticeat, non sociis saluti fore; sese suasque spes corruptarum."

XXXIV. DEIN, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet: ac, [68]tamen etsi multitudo, quae in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, voltu, saepe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione dicessit; Jugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

XXXV. EA erat tempestate Romae Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos; qui, quia, in dissensione regum, Jugurthae advorsus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proxumo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit, [69]Jugurtham ob scelera invidia cum metu urgueat; regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. Avidus consul [70]belli gerundi, [71]movere quam senescere omnia malebat: ipsi provincia Numidia; Minucio [72]Macedonia evenerat. Quae postquam Massiva agitare coepit, neque Jugurthae in amicis satis praesidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et [73]timor impediebat; Bomilcari, proxumo ac maxume fido sibi, imperat, "pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae paret, ac [74]maxume occulte; sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat." Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur: et, per homines talis negotii artifices, [75]itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem parati, [76]paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum ob-

truncat: sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus, et imprimis Albino consule, [77]indicium profitetur. [78]Fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium, Bomilcar, comes ejus qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam [79]animum advortit, supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam [80]in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta [81]vades dederat; regno magis, quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit. veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumtum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus [82]profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italia decedere. Sed, postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens, postremo dixisse, [83]URBEM VENALEM ET MATURE PERITURAM, SI EMPTOREM INVENERIT!

XXXVI. INTERIM Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium, alia quae militibus usui forent, [84]maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias morae caussas facere: polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare: [85]instanti cedere, et paullo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora, consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existumarent neque [86]ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum secordia magis, quam dolo, crederent. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris [87]pro praetore relicto, Romam decessit.

XXXVII. EA tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, [88]continuare

magistratum nitebantur : quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli, aut terrore exercitus ab rege [89]pecuniae capiundae, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat ; magnis itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum [90]Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis, et opportunitate loci, neque capi, neque obsideri poterat, [92](nam circum murum, situm in praerupti montis extremo, planicies limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat,) tamen, aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus, [93]vineas agere, [94]aggerem jacere, alia, quae incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. AT Jugurtha, cognita [95]vanitate atque imperitia legati, [96]subdolus augere amentiam : missitare supplicantis legatos : ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, [97]insequeretur. Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum [98]tentabat : centuriones ducesque [99]turmarum, partim uti transfugerent, [corrumpere ;] alii, signo dato, locum uti desererent : ita delicta occultiora fore. Quae postquam ex sententia [100]instruit, intempesta nocte, de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, tumultu perculsi insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare ; trepidare omnibus locis : vis magna hostium ; coelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum ; [1]periculum anceps : postremo fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una [2]Ligurum, cum duabus turmis [3]Thracum, et paucis gregariis militibus, transiere

ad regem: et [4]centurio primi pili tertiae legionis, per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit: eaque Numidae cuncti irrupere. Nostri foeda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proxumum collem occupavere. Nox atque praeda castrorum hostes, [5]quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: "tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferro clausum tenet, tamen se humanarum rerum memorem, si secum foedus faceret, incolumis omnis [6]sub jugum missurum: praeterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet." Quae quamquam gravia et flagitii plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu [6]mutabant, sicuti regi libuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. SED, ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, [8]metus atque moeror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperii: pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxume qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, [9]quod armatus dedecore potius, quam manu salutem quaesiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam, [10]ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat: et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere: ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere: denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, SUO ATQUE POPULI INJUSSU NULLUM POTUISSE FOEDUS FIERI. Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit; [11]quamquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae animus ardebat; cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam, [12]soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruperat, [13]ex copia rerum statuit, nihil sibi agitandum.

XL. INTEREA Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribunus plebis, rogationem ad populum promulgat, "uti quaereretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta [14]neglegisset; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepissent; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace, aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent." [15]Huic rogationi, partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium ividia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, [16]quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur; occulte per amicos, ac maxume per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicae: [17]tanta lubido in partibus. Igitur, ceteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae supra [18]docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis, et suorum fugam [19]trepida etiam tum civitate, cum ex [20]Mamilia rogatione tres [21]quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed [22]quaestio exercita aspere violenterque, ex rumore, et lubidine plebis: ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. CETERUM [23]mos partium popularium et senati factionum, ac deinde omnium [24]malarum artium, paucis ante annis Romae ortus, otio et abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt. Nam, ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant: neque gloriae, neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat: [25]metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi illa formido mentibus discessit; [26]scilicet ea, quae secundae res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in advorsis

rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt,[27]asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque coepere nobilitas [28]dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere: sibi quisque [29]ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt; respublica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat: plebis vis [30]soluta atque dispersa in multitudine, minus poterat: paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur: penes eosdem aerarium, provinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique erant: populus militia atque inopia urguebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia, sine modo modestiaque invadere, polluere et vastare omnia; nihil pensi, neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit. Nam ubi primum [[31]ex nobilitate] reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustae potentiae anteponerent; moveri civitas, et [32]permixtio civilis, quasi discessio terrae, oriri coepit.

XLII. NAM postquam Tiberius et C. Graccus, [33]quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum reipublicae addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere; nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Graccorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos [34]eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum [35]coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro [36]necaverant. Et sane Graccis, cupidine victoriae, haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed [37]bono vinci satius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa, multos mortalis ferro aut fuga exstinxit; plusque

in reliquum sibi timoris, quam potentiae, addidit. Quae res plerumque magnas civitatis pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed, de studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singulatim, aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus, quam res, maturius [38]deserat. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.)

XLIII. POST Auli foedus, exercitusque nostri foedam fugam, Q. Metellus et M. Silanus, consules designati, [provincias] inter se [39]paraverunt: Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, et quamquam [40]advorso populi partium, fama tamen [41]aequabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi [42]cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, praesidia undique arcessere: arma, tela, equos, cetera instrumenta militiae parare: ad hoc commeatum affatim: denique omnia, quae [43]bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum [44]ad ea patranda senati auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, reges ultro auxilia mittere: postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter bonas artis, tum maxume, quod advorsum divitias animum invictum gerebat; et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae, hostiumque auctae erant.

XLIV. SED, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur [45]Sp. Albini pro consule, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, lingua, quam manu, promtior, praedator ex sociis, et ipse praeda hostium, [46]sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quam ex copia militum auxilii, aut spei

bonae accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et [47]aestivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventi civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum adtingere, quam, majorum disciplina, milites laborare coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, [48]quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat; nisi cum odos, aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari vigiliae [49]deducebantur: uti cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat. [50]Lixae permixti cum militibus [51]die noctuque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, [52]villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio, et aliis talibus: praeterea, frumentum publice datum vendere, [53]panem in dies mercari: postremo quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaeque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. SED in ea difficultate Metellum non minus, quam in rebus hostilibus, magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; [54]tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque moderatum. [55]Namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviae sustulisse, "ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet; ne lixae exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris, neve in [55]agmine servum aut jumentum haberet:" ceteris [57]arte modum statuisse: praeterea [58]transvorsis itineribus quotidie castra movere; juxta, ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere, et ipse cum legatis [59]circumire: item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis, quam vindicando, exercitum brevi [60]confirmavit.

XLVI. INTEREA Jugurtha, ubi, quae Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit; simul de [61]innocentia ejus certior Romae factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum [62]suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum. Itaque [63]legatos alium ab alio divorsos adgreditur; ac, paullatim [64]tentando, postquam opportunos cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, "uti Jugurtham maxume vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent:" ceterum palam, quae ex voluntate forent, regi nunciari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto exercitu, in Numidiam procedit: ubi, contra belli faciem tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris: ex oppidis et [65]mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, [66]commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quae imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, [67]et insidiis locum tentari. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu, apud primos erat: in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat: in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, uti cum his permixti [68]velites, quacumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiae erat, uti, absens, an praesens, pacem, an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. ERAT haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, [69]forum

rerum venalium totius regni maxume celebratum; ubi et incolere, et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. [70]Huic Consul, simul tentandi gratia et opperiundi, si paterentur opportunitates loci, praesidium imposuit; praeterea imperavit frumentum, et alia, quae bello usui [71]forent: ratus id, quod res monebat, [72]frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatuum juvaturam exercitum, et jam pacatis rebus munimento fore. Inter haec negotia Jugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare; praeter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat: regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se suis artibus tentari animadvortit; quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrumum erat, urbs maxuma [73]alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati: coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci, [74]quas maxumas copias potest omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum xx. [75]tractu pari, [76]vastus ab natura et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio [77]quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertinens, vestitus oleastro ac mirtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quae [78]humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. [79]Media autem planicies deserta, penuria aquae, praeter flumini propinqua loca: ea [80]consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

XLIX. IGITUR in eo colle, quem, [81]transvorso itinere, porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, [82]extenuata suorum acie, consedit: elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit, eumque edocet, quae ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu [83]pedites delectos collocat: dein singulas turmas atque manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, "uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae seque regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum mutatum: quae ab imperatore [84]decuerint, omnia suis provisa; [85]locum superiorem, uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent: proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere: illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum aerumnarum initium fore." Ad hoc viritim, [86]ut quemque, ob militare facinus, pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare: postremo, pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare: cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu [87]conspicatur: primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam inter virgulta [88]equi Numidaeque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen [89]incerti, quidnam esset; cum natura loci, tum dolo, ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati) dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper agmen [90]constitit: ibi [91]commutatis ordinibus, in dextero latere quod proxumum hostis erat, [92]triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: [93]inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit: equitatum omnem in cornibus locat: ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicuti instruxerat, [94]transvorsis principiis, in planum deducit.

L. Sed, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus ex anni tempore et inopia aquae, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet; existumans, hostis crebro impetu et [95]transvorsis praeliis iter suum remoraturos, et, quoniam armis diffiderent, [96]lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere: Marium [97]post principia habere: ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse. qui in agmine [98]principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli [99]primos suos praetergressum videt, praesidio [100]quasi duûm millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus advorsariis receptui, ac post munimento foret: dein, repente signo dato, hostis invadit. Numidae alii [1]postremos caedere; pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare: infensi adesse atque instare: omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare; quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto praelio, [2]ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi, aut manum conserendi copia erat. Antea jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turba insequi coeperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxume divorsi. Ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugae collis, quam campi fuerant, [3]ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebant.

LI. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, [4]foeda atque miserabilis: dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi: neque signa, neque ordines observare: ubi quem-

que periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti: nihil consilio, neque imperio agi: fors omnia regere. Itaque multum [5]die processerat, cum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et aestu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortis legionarias quatuor advorsum pedites hostium collocat: eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostis fugientes vincere: neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quo [6]cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita." Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus: circumire, hortari, renovare praelium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia: subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, [6]quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant; ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus: Jugurthae alia omnia, praeter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intellegunt, neque sibi [7]perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, et jam die vesper erat; [8]advorso colle, sicuti praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco, Numidae fusi fugatique: pauci interiere; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paullatim suos in aequum locum deducit: ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat: neque remittit, quid [9]ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedisse jam, et [10]animo vacuum accepit, simulque [11]ex Jugurthae praelio clamorem auge-

ri; veritus, ne legatus, cognita re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum [12]arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri obficeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. ROMANI ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt, nam [13]prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari: post, ubi aequabilem manere, et, [14]sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum, utrimque magno clamore [15]concurrunt. Numidae tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant; postquam impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt: ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quae jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes. numero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et praelio [16]fessi lassique erant; tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum [17]nihil languidi, neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo, obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes [18]adventarent, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul, et tumultum facere: et paene imprudentia admissum [19]facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur, pro metu, repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium laeti adpellant, acta edocent atque audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad coelum ferre. Quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet: [20]advorsae res etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. METELLUS in isdem castris quatriduo moratus, [21]saucios cum cura reficit, meritos [22]in praeliis more mili-

tiae donat, universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, ad cetera, qeae levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat: ibique cogebat exercitum [23]numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli cultorem. Id ea gratia eveniebat, quod, praeter regios equites, nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt: neque id [24]flagitium militiae ducitur: [25]ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum [26]ferocem; bellum renovari, quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, [27]geri non posset; praeterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere; statuit [28]non praeliis, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerundum. Itaque in Numidiae loca opulentissuma pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida, [29]temere munita, aut sine praesidio. capit inceditque, puberes interfici jubet: alia omnia militum [30]praeda esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quae usui forent, adfatim praebita: ubicumque res postulabat, praesidium impositum. Quae negotia multo magis, quam praelium male pugnatum [ab suis] regem terrebant: quippe, [31]cui spes omnis in fuga sita, sequi cogebatur; et qui [32]sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen [33]ex copia, quod optumum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum [34]plerumque in îsdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur; nocturnis et [35]aviis itineribus [36]ignoratus Romanos palantis repente adgreditur: eorum ple-

rique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit: et Numidae prius, quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proxumos collis discedunt.

LV. Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus: [37]ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret; in advorso loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset; hostium agro potiretur; Jugurtham magnificum ex Auli secordia, spem salutis in solitudine, aut fuga, coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus [38]supplicia decernere: civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu, laeta agere: fama de Metello praeclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare; cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret: meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quo clarior erat, eo magis animi anxius: neque, post insidias Jugurthae, [39]effuso exercitu praedari: ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu [40]praesidium agitabant: exercitus [41]partim ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam praeda, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis, haud longe [42]inter se, castra faciebant: ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius crescerent, divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi: tempus, aut locum [43]pugnae quaerere: qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere: modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere: postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in collis regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis minitari; neque praelium facere, neque otium pati; tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. Romanus imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam, et in ea parte, qua sita erat, [44]arcem regni, nomine [45]Zamam,

statuit obpugnare; ratus id, quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique praelium fore. At ille, quae parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, moenia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia [46]fallere nequibant, firmissumum. Praeterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ita compositis rebus, in loca quam maxume occulta discedit, ac post paullo cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus [47]Siccam missum; quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum [48]dilectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit: simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, "uti cohortis ab tergo circumveniant: fortunam praeclari facinoris casum dare: si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem aucturos." Ac, ni Marius signa inferre, atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium [49]fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidae agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urguent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

LVII. MARIUS ad Zamam pervenit: id oppidum in campo situm, magis [50]opere, quam natura munitum erat; nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit: legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret: deinde, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret; [51]infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: praelium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; [52]alii succedere, ac murum modo subfodere, modo scalis adgredi: cupere praelium in manibus

facere. Contra ea oppidani in proxumos saxa volvere; sudes, pila, [53]praeterea pice et sulphure taedam mixtam, ardentia mittere. Sed nec illos, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat: nam plerosque jacula tormentis, aut manu emissa volnerabant; parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in praesidio erant, et omnia magis, quam praelium exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere: magna pars volnerati, aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto, locum cepere, paullo, quam alii, editiorem: neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt; sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci [54]in pluribus minus frustrati: sin Numidae propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere, et eos maxuma vi caedere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cum acerrume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit: dein, converso equo, animadvortit, fugam [55]ad se vorsum fieri; quae res indicabat [56]popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere mittit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque, lacrumans, per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostis inultos abire sinat: ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum praecipitarentur, alii in [57]angustiis ipsi sibi properantes obficerent, multis amissis, in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

LIX. IGITUR postero die, prius, quam ad obpugnandum

egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris [58]agitare jubet: portas et proxuma loca tribunis dispertit: deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, ut superiore die, murum adgreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostos invadit: qui in [59]proxumo locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito subveniunt. Neqne diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu [60]fecissent: quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri praelio solet, sequi, dein cedere; sed [61]adversis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis, hostis paene [62]victos dare.

LX. EODEM tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti; neque alius in alio magis, quam in sese spem habere: pariter oppidani agere; [63]obpugnare, aut parare omnibus locis: avidius alteri alteros sauciare, quam semet tegere: clamor permixtus hortatione, laetitia, gemitu; item strepitus armorum ad coelum ferri: tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paululum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti praelium equestre prospectabant: eos, uti quaeque Jugurthae res erant, laetos modo, modo pavidos animadvorteres: ac, sicuti audiri a suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut [64]niti corporibus, et huc, illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacientes tela, [65]agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est (nam is in ea parte curabat) consulto lenius agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati Numidas sine tumultu regis praelium visere. Ita illis [66]studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi murum adgreditur: et jam scalis [67]aggressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela inge-

runt. Nostri primo resistere: deinde, ubi [68]unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supersteterant adflicti sunt; ceteri, [69]quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti volneribus abeunt. Denique utrimque praelium nox diremit.

LXI. METELLUS, postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut [70]suo loco pugnam facere, et jam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit; et in his urbibus, quae ad se defecerant, satisque munitae loco, aut moenibus erant, praesidia imponit. [71]Ceterum exercitum in provinciam [72]qua proxuma est Numidiae hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus, ex aliorum more, quieti, aut luxuriae concedit: sed, quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde, vadibus datis, clam Massivae de nece judicium fugerat, quod ei [73]per maxumam amicitiam, maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat: dein fide data, "si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem, et sua omnia concederet," facile Numidae persuadet, cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

LXII. Is, ubi primum opportunum, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit: monet atque lacrumans obtestatur, "uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum, optume merenti, provideat: omnibus praeliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse: satis saepe jam et virtutem militum, et fortunam tentatam: caveret, ne, illo cunctante, Numidae sibi consulant." His atque tali-

bus aliis ad deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati: "[74]Jugurtham imperata facturum, ac [75]sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere." Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis arcessiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthae imperat argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnes perfugas vinctos adduci: eorum magna pars, ut jussum erat, adducti; pauci, cum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus, cum ipse ad [76]imperandum [77]Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit flectere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis; cum modo taedio rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret; multis magnisque praesidiis nequidquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. PER idem tempus Uticae forte [78]C. Mario, per hostias dîs supplicanti, "magna atque mirabilia portendi" haruspex dixerat: "proinde quae animo [79]agitabat, fretus dîs ageret; fortunam quam saepissume experiretur; cuncta prospera eventura." At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat: ad quem capiundum, praeter vetustatem familiae, alia omnia abunde erant; industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia, [80]animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae avidus. Sed [81]his natus, et omnem pueritiam [82]Arpini altus, ubi primum aetas militiae patiens fuit, [83]stipen-

diis faciundis, non Graeca facundia, neque [84]urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile [85]notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, uti ampliore, quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is, [86]ad id locorum talis vir, (nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est) [87]consulatum appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin [88]his indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

LXIV. IGITUR, ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat: cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat [89]contemtor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re, mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam monere, "ne [90]tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse: debere illi res suas satis placere: postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur." Postquam haec atque talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, "[91]ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quae peteret." Ac postea saepius eadem postulanti, fertur dixisse, "ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum." Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, [92]annos natus circiter xx. Quae res Marium cum pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis consultoribus, [93]grassari; neque facto ullo,

neque dicto abstinere, quod modo [94]ambitiosum foret: milites, quibus in hibernis praeerat, laxiore imperio, quam antea, habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, [95]criminose simul, et magnifice de bello loqui: "[96]dimidia pars exercitus sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum: ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo [97]inanis et [98]regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet." Quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiaris corruperant, et [99]animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. ERAT praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento [100]secundum heredem scripserat, [1]morbis confectus, et ob eam caussam mente paullum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum uti [2]sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiae caussa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges adpellavisset; praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. Hunc Marius [3]anxium adgreditur atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum [4]imperatoris cum suo auxilio poenas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parum valido [5]secunda oratione extollit: "illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum: [6]id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret." Itaque et illum, et [7]equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus [8]honestissuma suffragatione consulatus petebatur: simul ea tempestate [9]plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. INTERIM Jugurtha postquam, omissa deditione, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum : civitates, quae ab se defecerant, formidine, aut [10]ostentando praemia adfectare : communire suos locos ; arma, tela, alia, quae spe pacis amiserat, [11]reficere, aut [12]commercari : servitia Romanorum adlicere, et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia tentare : prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati : [13]cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis [14]suppliciis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant : nam volgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxume Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque [15]discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio advorsum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, diem tertium constituunt, quod is [16]festus celebratusque per omnem Africam, [17]ludum et lasciviam magis, quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum praefectum oppidi, T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant : eos omnis, praeter Turpilium, inter epulas obtruncant : postea milites palantis, inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, adgrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quîs, acta consiliumque ignorantibus, tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.

LXVII. ROMANI milites, improviso metu, incerti ignarique quid potissumum facerent, [18]trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant : praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fugam prohibebant : ad hoc mulieres puerique [19]pro tectis aedificiorum saxa, et alia, quae locus praebebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri [20]anceps malum, neque a fortissumis [21]infirmissumo generi resisti posse : juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti

obtruncati. [22]In ea tanta asperitate, saevissumis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus : id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione, an casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus ; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita fama integra potior, improbus [23]intestabilisque videtur.

LXVIII. METELLUS, postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, paullisper moestus [24]e conspectu abit ; deinde, ubi [25]ira et aegritudo permixta cum maxuma cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et, quam plurimos potest, Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis [26]expeditos educit : et postera die circiter [27]horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, et jam [28]abnuentis omnia, docet, " oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse : decere illos reliquum laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissumis atque miserrumis, poenas caperent ;" praeterea [29]praedam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo [30]late, pedites quam artissume ire, signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. VAGENSES ubi animum advortere, ad se vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum rati, portas clausere ; deinde ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii volgum [31]effusum oppido caedere ; alii ad portas festinare ; pars turris capere : ira atque praedae spes amplius, quam lassitudo posse. Ita Vagenses biduum modo [32]ex perfidia laetati : civitas magna et opulens [33]poenae cuncta, aut praedae fuit. Turpilius quem, praefectum oppidi, unum ex omnibus profugisse, supra ostendimus, jussus a Metel-

lo caussam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus, verberatusque, [34]capite poenas solvit: [35]nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. PER idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere; ad perniciem ejus dolum quaerere; diu noctuque [36]fatigare animum: denique omnia tentando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, [37]carum acceptumque popularibus suis; qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare, et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quae Jugurthae fesso, aut majoribus adstricto [38]superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem [39]inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager, inultis hostibus, vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris perculsus, ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impediebat; Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et [40]timore socii anxius, ne, omisso [41]vetere consilio, novum quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, "[42]mollitiem secordiamque viri accusare: testari deos, per quos juravisset: [43]praemia Metelli in pestem ne converteret: Jugurthae exitium adesse, ceterum suane, an virtute Metelli periret, [44]id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, praemia, an cruciatum, mallet."

LXXI. SED, cum hae litterae adlatae, forte Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat; ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primo cura, deinde, uti [45]aegrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam, negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque, et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissumi, particeps. Qui postquam adlatas

litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus [46]opera aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introivit: dormiente illo epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit; dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa, post paullo experrectus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et rem omnem, uti [47]acta, cognovit, primo [48]indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit: "[49]quae ipse paravisset, perfidia clientis sui praeventa:" lacrumans obtestatur 'per amicitiam, perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet."

LXXII. AD ea rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram [50]oppresserat; ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthae dies aut nox ulla [51]quieta [52]fuere: neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori satis credere: civis, hostis juxta metuere: [53]circumspectare omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere: alio atque alio loco, saepe contra decus regium noctu requiescere: interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere: ita formidine quasi vecordia, exagitari.

LXXIII. IGITUR Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus, tamquam ad integrum bellum, cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, [54]fatigantem de profectione, simul et invitum, et offensum sibi, parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romae plebes, litteris, quae de [55]Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis, [56]volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas. quae antea decori, invidiae esse: at [57]illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat: ceterum in utroque magis [58]studia partium, quam bona, aut mala sua, moderata. Praeterea, seditiosi magistratus volgum exa-

gitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, [59]quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus, [60]frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita, perculsa nobilitate, [61]post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur: et postea populus, a tribuno plebis, Manilio Mancino, rogatus, QUEM VELLET CUM JUGURTHA BELLUM GERERE? frequens Marium jussit. Senatus paullo ante Metello [62]decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

LXXIV. EODEM tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis; quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant; cum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, [63]varius incertusque agitabat: neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera praefectosque in dies mutare: modo advorsum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere: saepe in fuga, ac post paullo spem in armis habere: dubitare, virtuti popularium, an fide minus crederet: ita, quocumque intenderat, res advorsae erant. Sed, inter eas moras, repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab Jugurtha [64]pro tempore parati instructique: dein praelium incipitur. Qua in parte rex [65]adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum: ceteri omnes [ejus milites] primo concursu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidas in omnibus praeliis pedes magis, quam arma [66]tuta sunt.

LXXV. EA fuga Jugurtha [67]impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein [68]Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulen-

tum, ubi plerique thesauri, [69]filiorumque ejus multus pueritiae cultus erat. Quae postquam Metello comperta, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proxumum, spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen, spe patrandi belli, [si ejus oppidi potitus foret] omnis asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere adgreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levari jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem: ceterum utres modo, et alia aquae idonea portari. Praeterea conquirit ex agris, quam plurimum potest, domiti pecoris; eoque imponit [70]vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc, finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae portarent; diem locumque, [71]ubi praesto fuerint, praedicit. Ipse ex flumine, quam proxumam oppido aquam supra diximus, jumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde, ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente coelo missa vis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Praeterea commeatus spe amplior: quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, [72]officia intenderant. Ceterum milites [73]religione pluvia magis usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dîs immortalibus curae esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthae, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se [74]locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

LXXVI. SED rex nihil jam [75]infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, [76]arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, [77]ceteris imperitantem, industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit: neque postea in ullo loco amplius una die, aut una

nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratia properare; ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia [78]per otium, et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos praelio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus, et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit. Deinde locis [79]ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere, [80]et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra haec oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore praeliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat [81]oppido modo potiti: praeda omnis ab perfugis [82]corrupta. Ii postquam murum [83]arietibus feriri, resque suas adflictas vident, aurum atque argentum, et alia, quae prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque, et domum, et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerent [84]eas ipsi volentes pependere.

LXXVII. SED pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, "uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; advorsum quem neque imperia magistratuum, neque leges valerent: ni id festinaret, in summo periculo [85]suam salutem, illorum socios fore." Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem, et postea Romam miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino, Metelloque imperata [86]navi fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quae petebant, adepti. [87]Eo missae cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius praefectus.

LXXVIII. ID oppidum ab [88]Sidoniis conditum, quos

accepimus, profugos ob discordias civilis, navibus in eos locos venisse: ceterum [89]situm inter duas [90]Syrtis, quibus nomen [91]ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in [92]extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura: quorum [93]proxuma terrae praealta sunt; cetera, [94]uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et saevire ventis coepit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Ejus civitatis lingua modo conversa connubio Numidarum: leges, cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quae eo facilius retinebant. quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et [95]frequentem Numidiam [96]multi vastique loci erant.

LXXIX. SED, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur, egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraeque Africae imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. [97]Ager in medio arenosus, una specie: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret; quae res eos in magno diuturno bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque [98]legiones, item classes fusae fugataeque, et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant; veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius adgrederetur, [99]per inducias sponsionem faciunt, "uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur." Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id secordiane, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus, atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi, per loca aequalia et [100]nuda gignentium, ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea, magna vi agitata, ora oculosque implere

solet; ita prospectu impedito, [1]morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident, et [2]ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuunt; criminari, Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem: denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed cum [3]Poeni aliam conditionem, tantummodo aequam, peterent, [4]Graeci [5]optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, "[6]vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros." Philaeni, conditione probata, seque vitamque reipublicae condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras consecravere; aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. JUGURTHA postquam, amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit: ac paullatim consuefacit [7]ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Praeterea regis Bocchi proxumos magnis muneribus, et majoribus promissis [8]ad studium sui perducit; quîs adjutoribus regem adgressus, impellit, uti advorsum Romanos bellum suscipiat. [9]Id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, foedus et amicitiam petitum; quam rem opportunissumam incepto bello pauci impediverant, caeci avaritia, quîs omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthae filia [10]Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea [11]necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur: quod singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed reges [12]eo amplius. Ita [13]animus multitudine distrahitur; [14]nulla pro socia obtinet: pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. IGITUR in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt: ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: "Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia, communis omnium hostis esse: eamdem illos caussam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi: quîs [15]omnia regna advorsa sint: [16]tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginienses, item regem Persen, post, uti quisque opulentissumus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore." His atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt; quod ibi Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut, capta urbe, [17]operae pretium fore; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, praelio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, [18]Bocchi pacem imminuere; ne moras agitando, aliud, quam bellum, mallet.

LXXXII. IMPERATOR postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti saepe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit: ceterum haud procul ab Cirta, castris munitis, reges opperitur; melius ratus, [19]cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam: nam consulem factum, jam antea acceperat. Quîs rebus supra [20]bonum atque honestum perculsus, neque lacrumas tenere, neque moderari linguam: [21]vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter aegritudinem pati. Quam rem alii [22]in superbiam vortebant: alii [23]bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse: [24]multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur: nobis satis cognitum, illum magis honore Marii, quam injuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si ademta provincia alii, quam Mario, traderetur.

LXXXIII. IGITUR eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, "ne sine caussa hostis populo Romano fieret: habere eum [25]magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque conjungendae, quae potior bello esset: quamquam opibus confideret, non debere incerta pro certis mutare: [26]omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrume desinere: non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse: incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo licere; deponi cum victores velint: proinde sibi regnoque consuleret, neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthae [27]perditis misceret." Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: "sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthae fortunarum misereri; [28]si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura." Rursus imperator [29]contra postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit: [30]ille probare, partim abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis, tempus procedere, et, ex Metelli voluntate, bellum [31]intactum trahi.

LXXXIV. AT Marius, ut supra diximus, [32]cupientissuma plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus [33]jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero [34]multus atque ferox instare: singulos modo, modo universos laedere: dictitare, "sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse;" alia praeterea [35]magnifica pro se et illis dolentia. Interim quae bello opus erant, [36]prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere: praeterea ex Latio fortissumum quemque, [37]plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos accire, et [38]ambiendo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis [secum proficisci.] Neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat: [39]quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli

usum, aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujuscemodi [40]animis trahebant: et eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nam, postquam, omnibus quae postulaverat decretis, milites scribere volt, hortandi caussa simul, et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, [41]exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. " [42]Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium a vobis petere, et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo industrios, supplicis, modicos esse; dehinc per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere: sed mihi [43]contra ea videtur. [44]Nam, quo universa respublica pluris est, quam consulatus aut praetura, eo majore cura [45]illam administrari, quam haec peti debere. [46]Neque me fallit, quantum cum maxumo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare simul, et aerario parcere; cogere ad militiam, quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantis, factiosos, [47]opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum et adfinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est et virtute, et innocentia tutari: [48]nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intellego, Quirites, [49]omnium ora in me conversa esse: aequos bonosque favere: [50]quippe benefacta mea reipublicae procedunt; nobilitatem locum invadendi quaerere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum est, [51]ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. [52]Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, ut omnis labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quae [53]ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, accepta mercede, deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis dif-

facile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optumis artibus egi, [54]benefacere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas aegerrume tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem [55]veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum, et nullius stipendii: scilicet ut in tanta re, ignarus omnium, trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii. Ita plerumque evenit, ut, quem vos imperare jussistis, is imperatorem alium quaerat. Ac ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam consules facti sunt, acta majorum, et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint; [56]homines praeposteri. [57]Nam gerere, quam fieri, tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quae illi audire et legere solent, eorum partim vidi, alia egomet gessi: quae illi litteris, ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur; quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortissumum quemque [58]generosissumum. Ac, si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene, an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid [59]responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quam optumos voluisse? Quod si jure me despiciunt, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant et labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. [60]Ne illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissumas res pariter exspectant, ig-

naviae voluptatem, et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant; quod [61]contra est. Nam quanto vita illorum praeclarior, tanto horum secordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria [62]posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verum id, quod multo praeclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. [63]Sed, in maxumo vestro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, [64]ex animi sententia, nulla oratio laedere potest: [65]quippe vera necesse est bene praedicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed, quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem, et maxumum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num id poenitendum sit. Non possum fidei caussa imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, [66]hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona; praeterea, cicatrices advorso corpore. Hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non haereditate [67]relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae ego plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. [68]Non sunt composita verba mea: parum id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis [69]artificio opus est, uti turpia facta oratione tegant. [70]Neque litteras Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtu-

tem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optuma reipublicae doctus sum; hostem ferire, [71]praesidia agitare; nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam; hiemem et aestatem juxta pati; humi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego praeceptis milites hortabor: neque [72]illos arte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. [73]Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, cum [74]tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est, dominum, non imperatorem esse. Haec atque talia majores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere: quîs nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos contemnit; et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissumi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia quae licebat, illis reliquere. divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, [75]quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum, quam villicum, habeo; quae mihi lubet confiteri. Nam ex parente meo, et ex [76]sanctis viris ita accepi, [77]munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae, quam divitiarum: arma, non susupellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum aestumant, id semper faciant; [78]ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam, ubi se omnibus flagitiis dedecoravere turpissumi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissume luxuria et ignavia, pessumae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil obficiunt; rei-

publicae innoxiae cladi sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium, de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites. Nam, quae ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tuta sunt, omnia removistis, [79]avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus, quam felix. Nam magna pars avaritia, aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus [80]militaris aetas, adnitimini mecum, et capessite rempublicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in praelio consultor idem, et socius periculi vobiscum adero; meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, dîs juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, praeda, laus: quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos reipublicae subvenire [81]decebat. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus: neque quisquam parens liberis, uti aeterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

LXXXVI. HUJUSCEMODI oratione habita, Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliis utilibus navis onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque [82]ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, [83]capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia [84]bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant; quod ab eo genere celebratus [85]auctusque erat; et homini potentiam quaerenti egentissumus quisque opportunissumus, cui neque sua curae, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia [86]cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum majore aliquanto numero, quam decretum

erat, in Africam profectus. diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quae audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. Sed consul. expletis legionibus cohortibusque [87]auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur: omnia ibi capta militibus donat: dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita adgreditur: praelia multa, ceterum alia levia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse: videre fugientis capi, occidi; fortissumum quemque tutissumum; armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi; gloriam atque divitias quaeri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium aequalis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, [88]divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthae placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi [posse;] Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu, laxius licentiusque futuros.

LXXXVIII. Metellus interea Romam profectus, contra spem suam. [89]laetissumis animis excipitur; plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter adtendere: cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra esset: explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias antevenire: nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati: Itaque et Gaetulos, et Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris praedam agentes, saepe adgressus itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta [90]armis exuerat. Quae postquam gloriosa modo, neque [91]belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbis, quae viris aut loco [92]pro hostibus, et advorsum se opportunissumae erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut praelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nun-

cios ad eum saepe miserat, "vellè populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret." Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus [93]gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum.

LXXXIX. SED consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut praemia ostentando avortere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans, Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed, ubi procul abesse, et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, [94]majora et aspera adgredi tempus visum. Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cujus conditor [95]Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham [96]immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissumi habebantur: muniti advorsum hostis non moenibus modo, et armis atque viris, multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam, praeter oppido propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus: quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior: ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magis, quam alia re, accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxuma cupido invaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque; nisi quod apud Thalam haud longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum, [97]jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique, et in omni Africa, quae procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur, neque [98]salem, neque alia irritamenta gulae quaerebant: cibus illis advorsum famem atque sitim, non lubidini, neque luxuriae erat.

XC. IGITUR consul, omnibus exploratis, credo, dîs fretus; nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis provi-

dere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidae pabulo pecoris, magis, quam [99]arvo student, et quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam aestatis extremum erat; tamen [100]pro rei copia satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit: A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum [1]Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet; [2]se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occulto, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. CETERUM in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas, aequaliter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent. curabat: simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et, ignari somnibus, parare, quae moxusui forent. Denique sexto dei, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrium effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis [3]egrederentur, paratos esse jubet; omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto, consedit: idem proxuma facit: dein tertia, multo ante lucis adventum, pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duûm millium intervallo; ibique, quam occultissume potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed, ubi dies coepit, et Numidae, nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi; repente omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissumos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, et portas obsidere jubet: deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites praedari sinere. Quae postquam oppidani cognovere; [4]res trepidae, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potes-

tate, coëgere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum: Numidae puberes interfecti; alii omnes venum dati: praeda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli, non avaritia, neque scelere consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthae opportunus nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio, neque metu [5]coërcitum.

XCII. POSTQUAM tantam rem Marius, sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit; magnus et clarus antea, major et clarior haberi coepit. [6]Omnia non bene consulta modo, verum etiam casu data, in virtutem trahebantur: milites, modesto imperio habiti simul, et locupletes, ad coelum ferre: Numidae magis, quam mortalem timere: postremo omnes socii atque hostes credere illi aut mentem divinam, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura deserta, propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque caede omnia complentur. Denique, multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, ad aliam rem adgreditur, non eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthae Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat, [7]inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam [8]omnis natura, velut opere atque consulto, praeceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quam consilio, melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquae; aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus [9]importunus; iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum. Vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur; nam,

cum eae paullum processerant, igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo [10]administrare: optumus quisque cadere, aut sauciari; ceteris metus augeri.

XCIII. AT Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumtis, anxius trahere cum animo, omitteretne inceptum quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus. Quae cum multos dies, noctes [11]aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod [12]avorsum praeliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis cochleas: quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi, postquam [13]solitudinem intellexit, [14]more humani ingenii, cupido ignara visundi invadit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, [15]paullulum modo prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert: cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus, [16]castelli planitiem perscribit; quod cuncti Numidae intenti praeliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quae mox usui fore ducebat, [17]eadem regreditur, non temere, uti escenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse escenderat, castellum tenet: pollicitur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa cognitum, ex praesentibus misit: quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consulis animus tamen paullum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum, numero quinque quam velocissumos delegit, et cum his, praesidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnis Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proxumum diem constituit.

XCIV. SED, ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi qui centuriis praeerant, praedocti ab [18]duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti [19]prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii et scuta verum ea Numidica ex coriis [20]ponderis gratia simul, et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur praegrediens Ligus saxa, et si quae vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati facilius escenderent: interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu: ubi paullo asperior adscensus, singulos prae se inermos mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi: quae [21]dubia nisu videbantur, [22]potissimus tentare, ac saepius eadem adscendens descendensque, dein statim [23]digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur, diu multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt. desertum ab ea parte; quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, advorsum hostis aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quae Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos praelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites, et ipse extra vineas egressus, [24]testudine acta succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidae, saepe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthae servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque praelio intentis, magna utrimque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere; ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proxumus erat; postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo

acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes murum petere; neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpa invenit.

XCV. CETERUM, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit; [25]quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romae relictus erat. Sed, quoniam tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est, de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere: neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus; et L. [26]Sisenna optume et diligentissume omnium qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae, familia prope jam exstincta majorum ignavia, litteris Graecis atque Latinis juxta atque doctissume eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior: [27]otio luxurioso; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, [28]nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli: facundus, callidus, et [29]amicitia facilis; [30]ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis: multarum rerum, ac maxume pecuniae largitor. Atque felicissumo omnium [31]ante civilem victoriam numquam super industriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior esset: nam, postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis, an pigeat disserere.

XCVI. IGITUR Sulla, ut supra dictum, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, [32]sollertissumus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc, milites benigne adpellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere: sed ea properantius, quam aes mutuum reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere; magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent: joca atque seria cum humillumis

agere: in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse: neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis, aut cujusquam boni famam laedere: tantummodo neque consilio, neque [33]manu priorem alium pati; plerosque antevenire. Quîs rebus, brevi, Mario militibusque carissumus factus.

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis simul, et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, "quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret: praelii faciundi tempus adesse." Quem ubi cunctari accepit, [34]dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere; rursus, uti antea, proxumos donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo praemio illectus Bocchus, cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, [35]vix decima parte die reliqua, invadunt: rati noctem, quae jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore, et, si vicissent, [36]nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant; contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant; et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui, aut [37]sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie, neque ullo more praelii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt; qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant: pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus: pugna latrocinio magis, quam praelio similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus [38]equites pedites permixti, caedere alios, alios obtrun-

care, multos contra advorsos acerrume pugnantis, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi: denique Romani veteres, novique, [39]et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus, aut casus conjunxerat, orbes facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. NEQUE in eo tam aspero negotio territus Marius, aut magis, quam antea demisso animo fuit: sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissumis magis, quam familiarissumis, paraverat, vagari passim: ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissumi obstiterant, invadere: [40]manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumtus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges praeceperant, [41]noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius [42]ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat: quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae magnus erat; alter usui opportunus, quia, magna parte editus et praeceps, [43]pauco munimento egebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit: dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, praelio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari suo more laetari, exsultare, strepere vocibus: ipsi duces feroces, [44]quia non fugerant, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu, [45]magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. PLURIMUM vero Marius imperitia hostium con-

firmatus, quam maxumum silentium haberi jubet: ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere: deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus et paullo ante somno captis, de improviso [46]vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gaetuli ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quidquam poterant: ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, [47]formido, quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique: arma et signa militaria pleraque capta: pluresque eo praelio, quam omnibus superioribus interemti: nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. DEIN Marius, uti coeperat, [48]in hiberna; quae, propter commeatum, in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat: neque tamen secors victoria, aut insolens factus; sed pariter ac in conspectu hostium, [49]quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra A. Manlius, cum funditoribus et sagittariis, [50]praeterea cohortes Ligurum curabat: primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugae, [51]minume cari et regionum scientissumi, hostium iter explorabant: simul consul, quasi [52]nullo imposito, omnia providere; apud omnes adesse; laudare, increpare [53]merentis. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogebat: [54]neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire; excubitum in portas cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere: praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, [55]non diffidens ea futura, quae imperavisset, quam [56]uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius,

illo et aliis temporibus belli, pudore magis, quam [57]malo, exercitum coërcebat ; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant ; pars quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam, et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset. [58]Nisi tamen res publica, pariter ac saevissumo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. IGITUR quarto denique die, haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores [59]citi sese ostendunt : qua re hostis adesse intellegitur. Sed quia divorsi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem significabant ; consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, advorsum omnia paratus. ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partis distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus [60]aeque aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum adtigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxume confertis equis, ipse aliique Mauros invadunt : ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites praeliantur. Bocchus cum peditibus. quos Volux, filius ejus, adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat , quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis [61]ad pedites convortit : ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat : " nostros frustra pugnare ; paullo ante Marium sua manu interfectum :" simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, [62]satis impigre occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis [63]atrocitate rei, quam fide nuncii terrentur : simulque barbari animos tollere, et in [64]perculsos acrius incedere. Jamque paullum ab

fuga aberant, cum Sulla, profligatis, quos advorsum ierat, Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos, et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra, omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium [65]vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, occurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus: [66]sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi, viri adflicti: ac multi, volneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; [67]niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua [68]visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. [69]Postea loci consul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo [70]post diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, "duo quam fidissumos ad eum mitteret: velle de se, et de populi Romani commodo cum îs disserere." Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere; ingenium aut avorsum uti flecterent, aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus. "Rex Bocche, magna nobis laetitia, cum te talem virum dî monuere, uti aliquando pacem, quam bellum, malles; neu te optumum cum pessumo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem et illum sceleratissumum [71]persequi. Ad hoc, populo Romano jam a [72]principio reipublicae visum, amicos, quam servos quaerere: tutius rati, volentibus, quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia;

primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offensae minimum, [73]gratia par, ac si prope adessemus; dein, quod [74]parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium satis. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset! profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala [75]perpessus esses. Sed, quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit, [76]cui scilicet placuit te et vim et gratiam nostram experiri; nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque, ut coepisti, perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, nunquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum: nam bello quid valeat, tute scis." Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca pro delicto verba facit: "se non hostili animo, sed regnum tutatum arma cepisse: nam Numidiae partem, [77]unde vi Jugurtham expulerat, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse: praeterea missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum." Dein [78]copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

CIII. MARIUS interea, exercitu in hibernis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis praesidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quae sibi duobus praeliis [79]venerant, seu admonitus ab amicos, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissuma erant, Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet: agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli

componendi licentiam permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deinde itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, [80]sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul, in expeditionem proficiscens, pro praetore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro [81]vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed [82]adcurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam, et Sullam, ob munificentiam in sese, amicum rati. Nam etiam tum [83]largitio multis ignara: munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens: dona omnia [84]in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui, et alia, quae aut utilia, aut [85]benevolentiae credebant, oratione extollunt: dein Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiuntur.

CIV. MARIUS postquam, [86]ibi infecto, quo intenderat, negotio, Cirtam redit; de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem Utica, praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. [87]Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule: interea induciae postulabantur. [88]Ea Sullae et plerisque placuere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in advorsa [89]mutant. Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cetera, tum maxume benignitatem et [90]studium Sullae lubens accepit. Romae legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthae scelere lapsum [91]deprecati sunt,

amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur. "Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et injuriae memor esse solet; ceterum Boccho, quoniam poenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit."

CV. Quis rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; [92]cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum. funditorum [93]Balearium: praeterea [94]sagittarii et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi caussa: neque his secus, atque aliis armis, advorsum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campus patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit: qui [95]temere et effuse euntes, Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero, et [96]hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur sese quisque [97]expedire, arma atque tela [98]tentare, intendere: timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et advorsum eos, quos saepe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum praemissi, rem, uti erat, [99]quietam nunciant.

CVI. Volux adveniens quaestorem adpellat: "se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, et praesidio missum." Deinde eum et proxumum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, et die vesper erat, repente Maurus [100]incerto voltu ad Sullam adcurrit: "sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse:" simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque hortatur. Ille [1]animo feroci negat "se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paullo morbo interiturae vitae parceret." Certerum ab [2]eodem monitus,

uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat: ac statim milites [3]coenatos esse, in castris ignis quam creberrumos fieri, dein [4]prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nunciant, "Jugurtham circiter duûm millium intervallo ante consedisse." Quod postquam auditum, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere, proditos a Voluce, et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent, [5]manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. AT Sulla, quanquam eadem aestumabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, "uti fortem animum gererent: saepe antea paucis strenuis advorsum multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in praelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maxumo metu [6]nudum et caecum corpus ad hostis vortere." Deinde Volucem, [7]quoniam hostilia faceret, maxumum Jovem obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, "ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, magis calliditate Jugurthae, cui speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. [8]Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, illum nihil palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: quare optumum factum videri, [9]per media ejus castra palam transire: sese, vel praemissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum." Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata, ac statim profecti: quia de improviso [10]acciderant, dubio atque haesitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum.

CVIII. IBI cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomi-

ne, multum et familiariter agebat: praemissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, [11]orator, et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia: praeterea Dabar, Massugradae filius, ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar; pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque [12]quem Bocchus fidum multis antea tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, "paratum sese facere, quae populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse dilegeret: [13]consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere: neu Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret: [14]cautum esse quo res communis licentius gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse." Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis [15]Punica fide, quam ob quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis [16]adtinuisse. multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet: lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

CIX. IGITUR Sulla respondit: "pauca se coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occulte, aut nullo, aut quam paucissumis praesentibus:" simul edocet, quae responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerat, congressi, dicit, "se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem, an bellum agitaturus foret." Tum rex, uti praeceptum, post diem decimum redire jubet; ac, nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum: deinde ambo [17]in sua castra digressi. Sed, ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte arcessitur: ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur: praeterea Dabar [18]internuncius, sanctus vir et ex sententia [19]ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit.

CX. "NUMQUAM ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maxumus in hac terra, [20]et omnium, quos novi, opulentissimus, pri-

vato homini gratiam deberem. Et hercle, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id [21]imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor; [22]fuerit mihi pretium, eguisse aliquando amicitiae tuae, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id [23]adeo experiri licet: arma viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere: et, quoad vives, numquam redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me [24]integra erit: denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego aestumo, regem armis, quam munificentia vinci, minus flagitiosum. Ceterum de re publica vestra, [25]cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque [26]factum umquam volui: finis meos advorsum armatos armis tutus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet: gerite, uti voltis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non [27]egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. [28]Praeterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. AD ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice; de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefacit, [29]quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros: faciundum aliquid, quod illorum magis, quam sua, retulisse videretur: [30]id adeo in promtu esse, quoniam Jugurthae copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, uti illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, ultro adventuram." Rex primo [31]negitare: "adfinitatem, cognationem, praeterea foedus intervenisse: ad hoc metuere ne [32]fluxa fide usus, popularium animos avorteret, quîs et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi erant." Denique saepius fatigatus, [33]lenitur et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se factu-

rum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissumus, quae utilia visa, constituunt. Ita, composito dolo. digrediuntur.

CXII. AT rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthae legatum adpellat: "[34]sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse conditionibus bellum [35]poni: quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret." Ille laetus in castra Jugurthae venit. Deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei nunciat, "Jugurtham cupere omnia, quae imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum confidere: saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. [36]Ceterum si ambobus consultum, et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet: cum talem virum in potestate haberet, fore, uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani foedus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, [37]non sua ignavia, sed ob rempublicam in hostium potestate, relictum iri."

CXIII. HAEC Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum [38]dolo, an vere, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe [39]ipsae sibi advorsae. Postea, tempore et loco constituto, [in colloquium uti de pace veniretur] Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthae legatum adpellare, [40]benigne. habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter laeti, ac spei bonae pleni. Sed nocte ea, quae proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis, ac statim immutata voluntate [41]remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, [42]voltu corporis pariter, atque animo varius: qua re, scilicet tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam arcessiri jubet, et ex ejus sententia Numidiae insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul

abesse, cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro, quasi obvius honoris caussa, procedit in tumulum, facillumum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis, inermus, [43]ut dictum, accedit; ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati: Jugurtha Sullae vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus.

CXIV. PER idem tempus advorsum [44]Gallos ab ducibus nostris, Q. Caepione et M. Manlio, male pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. [45]Illique et, inde ad nostram memoriam, Romani sic habuere; alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse; [46]cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare. Sed, postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et Jugurtham vinctum adduci Romam nunciatum est, Marius consul [47]absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia: isque [48]Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. [49]Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.

Carpe Diem

Praise, the Echo of Virtue

Praise the Echo of Virtue

NOTES.

NOTES

ON THE

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

1. *Omnis.* The accusative plural, more usually written *omnes.* 1
Nouns whose genitive plural ends in *ium*, have *es*, *is*, or *eis*, in the accusative plural. These accusatives in *is*, however, have their last syllable always long, because it originates from the diphthongal syllable *eis*, which was the most ancient termination. [In the best ages of Latinity, the termination in *is* was most commonly employed. In the manuscript from which the Abbè Maio lately printed Cicero's work *De Republica*, the termination in *is*, with the exception of four places, uniformly prevails. *Vid. Cic. de Rep.* p. 348. *Ed. Lond.* The termination in *es*, however, was also used by the best writers. Thus we find in Virgil, *urbes*, *ignes*, and *urbis*, *ignis*: and it is even doubtful if all the words which have *ium* in the genitive plural had *is* in the accusative: *clases* and *classeis* (classes) and *Cartacinienses* (Carthaginienses) are all found on the Duilian column. *Vid.* Zumpt. L. G. p. 30.]

2. *Homines.* *Homo* properly signifies one of the human species, and includes both sexes. [When it signifies a female it is never joined with a feminine adjective, but put in apposition with a feminine noun.]

3. *Sese student præstare.* A pleonasm for *student præstare.* [The expression *student præstare* is itself rather an ellipsis for *sese student præstare*, the latter being the fuller form, though less frequently employed than the former.]

4. *Silentio.* [In obscurity. *Silentium* here denotes the silence which the rest of mankind preserve respecting us when we have done nothing to render our names illustrious, or a theme of conversation among men. It is used in precisely the same sense by Cicero, *in Pison.* 14. and by Silius Italicus, III. 145.]

5. *Prona.* Bending, or stooping downward.

6. *Sita.* *Est* is understood: in some editions it is expressed. The substantive verb is frequently understood in the best authors, particularly in Sallust.

7. *Animi imperio*, &c. [This passage is commonly, though incorrectly rendered as follows: We make more use of the empire of the mind *than* of the obedience of the body. It should be: We use more the empire of the mind, the obedience of the body: Sallust wishes to convey the idea that it is the province of the mind to command, of the body to obey.]

8. *Alterum.* *Alter* signifies one of two, *alius* one of many. [The

1 plural *alteri* is used when two bodies or classes of men are opposed to each other. As denoting the other of two, *alter* was also used for the second: thus *Primus, alter, tertius, unus et vicesimus, alter et vicesimus.*]

9. *Quo.* Used for *quapropter.* [Wherefore it appears to me more consistent with reason, to seek for a distinguished name by the resources of intellect than of bodily strength.]

10. *Memoriam nostri.* The remembrance of ourselves: *memoriam nostram,* our memory, referring to the mental faculty.

11 *Quam maxume longam.* As enduring as possible.

12. *Virtus.* [Talent, distinguished abilities.]

13. *Res militaris.* [The success of a military enterprise.]

14. *Incipias.* Before you begin, instead of, before one begins. The second person is thus frequently used with much elegance. [There is equal elegance in the use of the participles *consulto* and *facto* in the place of nouns.]

15. *Imperii.* Of government, i. e. of those who exercised dominion, or administered government. The office put for the officer by Metonymy.

16. *Diversi,* [differing in their sentiments, or views.]

17. *Et jam tum.* [The reading of the Bipont edition is preferable, *etiam tum.*]

18. *Agitabatur.* Used for *agebatur;* the frequentative for the simple verb: a practice very frequent with our author. [Many of the older Latin writers, as Plautus Terence, Lucretius, &c. are fond of using the frequentative for the simple verb, on account evidently of its fuller sound. This practice is in a few instances followed even by Cicero.]

2 19. *Cyrus.* The Great, founder of the Persian empire.

20. *Lubidinem dominandi.* Ambition, a desire of dominion.

21. *Periculo atque negotiis.* [From experience and affairs themselves.]

22. *Quod si.* But if. *Quod* before *si* is elegantly used for *sed.* [But if the mental qualities of kings and those who command were exercised to the same degree in peace that they are in war.]

23. *Æquabilius et constantius,* &c. would be more uniform and steady. A more elegant expression than *æquabiliores et constantiores essent.* [The Greek idiom is precisely similar. The Latin appears to be borrowed from it. In the Greek, however, the pronoun is almost always understood. Thus, ευ εχει, he is well, for ευ εχει ἑαυτον, he has himself well, &c.]

24. *Aliud alio ferri.* In expressions of this kind, that the meaning may be more clear and explicit in English, the Latin word must be repeated. [Neither would you behold one thing carried in one direction, another in another, nor all things changed and thrown into confusion.]

25. *Pro labore.* *Labor* is here taken for a disposition to labour.

26. *Pro continentia* &c. Instead of moderation and equity, passion and pride.

27. *Fortuna.* [*Principum* understood.]

28. *Arant,* &c. An unusual mode of writing, for *arando, navigan-*

lo, &c. *parant.* [It may be rendered by nouns; agriculture, naviga- 2
tion, architecture.]

29. *Virtuti parent.* [*Animi* understood. Pay homage to energy of mind, i. e. to the right exercise of the mental faculties; are the result of the powers of the mind by which they were invented and improved.]

30. *Juxta.* Alike. A preposition used adverbially by enallage.

31. *Quoniam de utraque siletur,* [i. e. *vita et morte*: Since there is silence respecting both; they leave no memorial of their having ever existed.]

32. *Frui anima.* [To enjoy his rational nature; to answer the end of his existence.]

33. *In magna copia rerum.* In the great variety of employments.

34. *Aliud alii.* To comprehend this mode of expression, which often occurs, see note 24, page 2, *alterum nobis*, &c. [Nature has shown one path to one individual, another to another.]

35. *Bene dicere.* [To speak well for it.]

36. *Tamen etsi.* Afterwards contracted into *tametsi.*

37. *Auctorem rerum.* In other editions is found *actorem.* if the latter reading be adopted, *actorem rerum* will be a pleonasm.

38. *Res gestas.* A history: which in those days was little more than a description of the exploits or gallant actions of military commanders.

39. *Dictis.* By the language or style.—

40. *Putant.* In some editions *dicta* is inserted before *putant*; but the reading in the text is preferred, because the word *reprehensa* evidently appears from the context to be understood.

41 *Bonorum.* So highly was military glory prized both among the Greeks and Romans that the same term in both languages signifies both virtue and bravery. *Vir fortis* in Latin is often equivalent to a man of worth, and *bonus* here, and in many other instances, signifies *brave*, as is clear from the context.

42. *Studio*, &c. I was led by inclination to engage in public af- 3
fairs.

43. *Ibique.* *Ibi* is used for *in eo*, or *in ea*, referring either to *studio* or *rempublicam*

44. *Nam pro pudore*, &c. [*Pudor* is here opposed to *Audacia*, *avaritia* to *abstinentia*, and *largitio* to *virtus.*]

45. *Reliquorum.* In some editions we find *reliquis*, and if *fama* be taken for a desire of fame, the latter reading will be consonant to the sense: but *fama* may be taken for *mala fama*, or *infamia*, obloquy. [If we read *reliquorum*, *fama* may be considered as a nominative, and the passage may then be rendered; and though I was free from the corrupt principles which influenced the rest, nevertheless a desire for advancement, the same obloquy, and the same odium which disquieted the rest, disquieted also me. If, on the contrary, we read *reliquis*, and *qua ceteros* instead of *quæ ceteros*, then *fama* becomes an ablative, and the rendering may be as follows. And though I was uncontaminated by other evil principles, nevertheless

3 a desire for advancement disquieted me with the same eagerness for distinction, and the same envy of my competitors, with which it did the rest.]

46. *Ex multis miseriis*, &c. [Began to enjoy repose from the many miseries and dangers by which it had been encompassed, and I resolved that the rest of my life should be spent at a distance from the scene of public affairs, &c.]

47. *Servilibus officiis*. [Mere corporeal employments. The phrase is here used in allusion to the passage in chapter 1. *Animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur.*]

48. *Studio.* Some read *studioque*, making *incepto* a substantive. The reading in the text is most simple.

49. *Carptim.* [In detached portions.] Others read *strictim* briefly.

50. *Partibus reipublicæ.* Political factions or parties. The copulative, to avoid flatness, is frequently omitted by our author. [The omission of the copulative is called an Asyndeton, the frequent repetition of it, a Polysyndéton.]

51. *Paucis absolvam.* *Narrationem* or *historiam* understood.

52. *Nobili genere natus.* Catiline was a Patrician, of an ancient family. He was the last of the *Gens Sergia.*]

53. *Ibique.* Taken for *in eis*, or *in illis rebus.*

54. *Patiens.* A verbal adjective, signifying, able to endure; *patiens* a participle, suffering. [They are distinguished also by their respective governments: *patiens inediæ*, able to endure want, refering to a habit; *patiens inediam*, suffering want, refering to a particular point of time.]

55. *Varius.* Capable of assuming any shape or character.

56. *Simulator ac dissimulator.* [A pretender and dissembler.] *Simulare*, to pretend to be what one is not; *dissimulare*, to dissemble.

57. *Satis loquentiæ*, &c. [Posessing fluency of speech enough, but little wisdom. Some editions read *eloquentiæ*, which is, however, too strong here. The difference between *eloquentia* and *loquentia* is well pointed out by Pliny. V. Ep. 20. The former we would call eloquence, the latter, loquacity, talkativeness, fluency of speech.]

4 58. *Lucii Sullæ.* [Sylla was a Roman of Patrician rank, who served at first under Marius in the Jugurthine war. His activity and address contributed greatly to bring that war to a successful termination. Marius became at last jealous of Sylla's merit, and hence originated that quarrel between them which was productive of the most enormous cruelties, and contributed to the final extinction of Roman liberty. Sylla, on gaining the ascendancy, assumed the reins of absolute government, and became perpetual dictator. After glutting his vengeance with the blood of thousands, and ruling with despotic sway for three years, he resigned his power, and lived undisturbed as a private citizen. He died in great torments of the *morbus pedicularis*, in the 60th year of his age, about 78 B. C. His death was hastened by habits of perpetual intoxication, in which he probably indulged to avoid the horrors of remorse.]

59. *Quidquam pensi*, &c. Nor did he at all regard.

60. *Res ipsa.* The subject itself.

61. *Tempus.* The occasion.

62. *Aborigines.* The original inhabitants: some think *Aborigines* to be the proper name of some people. [They were so called, according to Festus, because they were wanderers when they took possession of that part of Italy which afterwards fell with the rest under the dominion of the Romans. In this opinion he is supported by the author of the Origin of the Romans, who after mentioning the same circumstances, adds that they were first called *Aberrigines*, which, by the change of one letter and the suppression of another, was afterwards written *Aborigines*. Of the foundation and early history of Rome, however, we may be said to know comparatively nothing. The idea of a Trojan colony having reached that part of Italy, though a favourite one with the ancient Romans, had very probably no foundation whatever in fact. Late researches on the part of some of the German scholars have tended very much to shake the credibility both of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in relation to the earlier periods of Roman History. See North American Review, New Series, Number 14, and the Quarterly Review, Numbers 27 and 63.]

63. *Alii.* Other editions have *alius.* That in the text is the most simple reading; though *alius* being a partitive, may be connected to a plural noun.

Res. Here taken for *respublica.*

65. *Civibus—aucta.* In conformity with the idiom of the Latin language, *aucta* will apply to all these nouns; though each of them in English requires a different participle. Increased in number of citizens, improved in manners, and enlarged in territory.

66. *Sicuti pleraque,* &c. As is the case for the most part among men.

67. *Tentare esse.* The infinitive for the imperfect indicative; a practice more frequent with Sallust than with any other author. [This is what grammarians term the *historical infinitive,* as being principally used in historical narratives, in order to give an air of rapidity and animation to the sentence. In this construction the infinitive is always governed by some verb understood, most commonly some part of *cœpi.*]

68. *Percussi.* Other editions have *perculsi.* Either is admissible. [*Perculsi* is a better reading here than *percussi.* Scheller, (Lateinisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch,) asserts that *percutio* is much weaker in its import than *percello.* The former he makes to signify simply, to strike, the latter, to strike down, to overthrow, to deprive of all power of resistence in body and in mind, to terrify, &c.]

69. *Festinare, parare.* The infinitive again for the imperfect of the indicative. This observation need not be again repeated.

70. *Legitimum.* [Regulated by laws: in contra-distinction to a despotic one.]

71, 72 *Reipublicæ fuerat,* &c. An unusual construction. *Causa* may be understood; in some editions it is expressed. *Fuerat* must 5

5 then be taken for *constitutum fuerat*. The sentence may be completed otherwise, thus; *quod initio fuerat conservandæ libertatis atque augendæ reipublicæ*, i. e. *ad conservandam libertatem atque augendam rempublicam paratum, vel, idoneum*. [Cortius prefers this latter mode of interpretation, and condemns the use of *causa* in this passage, either expressed or understood. A similar construction occurs in Jugurtha, chap. 88. The whole passage, from *post ubi regium*, &c. may be rendered as follows. Afterwards, when the royal authority, which had originally been intended or established for the preservation of freedom and the enlargement of the state, changed to pride and tyranny having altered their form of government, they, &c.]

73. *Annua imperia*, &c. [Annual offices of magistracy and two chief magistrates, (consuls.) *Binos* refers to their annual election; two each year.]

Cœpere se quisque extollere. Other editions have *magis magisque extollere*. *Quisque*, being a partitive pronoun, admits a plural verb. [Each one began to raise himself to notice and to display his talents more openly: to have them more in readiness for any occasion that might present itself.]

75. *Boni*. [This word here signifies persons possessed of abilities: *mali*, those who have none. *Aliena virtus*, the merit of another.]

76. *Adepta libertate*. *Adipiscor*, being a common verb, is used in a passive, as well as in an active sense.

77. *Simul*, &c. For *simul ac*, which are the words in some editions, in which *laboris ac* are omitted.

78 *Belli*. The Roman youth were liable to be called into military service at 17 years of age, and were exempted at 46. Afterwards they continued to serve till they were 50 years of age.

79. *Virtus*. Fortitude.

80. *Sese*. For *se*. This pronoun is omitted in most editions: *sese ferire* is a pleonasm, similar to *sese præstare*. [But see page. 1, note 3.]

81. *Tale facinus*. [Such an exploit.]

82. *Eas divitias—putabant*. An uncommon mode of expression: instead of *in iis rebus divitias, &c. posita esse putabant*; or, *eas divitias esse veras divitias, eam famam bonam esse famam*, &c. [Perhaps the simplest way of rendering the passage is as follows: *These* they considered riches, *this* an honourable fame, and distinguished ennobling.]

83. *Maxumas*. An archaism frequent in this author, for *Maximas*.

84 *Ni ea res*. For *ni id*, a mode of expression frequent in Sallust.

85. *Res cunctas*. For *cuncta*.

86. *Æstumo*. An archaism for *æstimo*. Other editions have *existimo*.

6 87. *Scriptores*. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and others. [*Scriptorum magna ingenia*, is put for *Scriptores magni ingenii*: Writers of great talent.]

88. *Eam.* Referring to *virtutem*, In some other editions we find *ea* agreeing with *ingenia*. 6

89. *Ea copia.* That advantage.

90. *Prudentissimus quisque*, &c. [Every man of the greatest knowledge was most occupied with the business of the state.]

91. *Optumus.* An archaism for *optimus*; thus *minuma* for *minima* in the next sentence. This use of *u* for *i* is common in Sallust, and requires no further notice.

92. *Benefacta.* [Exploits: honourable deeds.]

93. *Jus bonumque.* [Justice and probity.]

94. *Suppliciis.* Sacrifices, worship. *Supplicium* signifies both punishments and supplication, worship or sacrifice; because the subject of punishment was supposed both to avert the wrath of the gods, by suffering, or bearing the penalty on behalf of the people; and to engage the deities to listen to their prayers, by being offered as a sacrifice for their guilt. The goods of criminals were also made an offering to the offended deity. [Scheller deduces the two meanings of this word in a different manner. He makes the primitive import to be, a kneeling down. This may be done either to supplicate the Deity, whence we have the kindred meaning of religious worship; or it may be for the purpose of being beheaded, whence we obtain the idea of punishment.]

95. *Quam.* Magis being understood; in some editions it is expressed.

96. *Agitabant.* For *agebant*; the frequentative for the primitive verb. [vid. page 1, note. 18. *Imperium agitabant*, they managed or exercised their authority.]

97. *Reges magni.* [Perses, king of Macedonia; Jugurtha, king of Numidia; Mithridates, king of Pontus, &c.]

98. *Populi.* This word in the plural signifies tribes, &c.

99. *Carthago.* Once a famous and flourishing city of Africa, not far from the present city of Tunis. [The name is derived from the Phoenician term Carthada, signifying the new city. The Greeks called the city Καρχηδὼν, and the people Καρχηδόνιοι. Carthage was destroyed by the Roman commander Scipio Africanus Minor, B. C. 147.]

100. *Optandæ.* Agrees with *divitiæ*, the noun nearest to it.

1. *Materies.* Of the fifth declension; sometimes *materia* of the first. 7

2. *Artis bonas.* [Virtuous qualities.] *Artis* for *artes*.

3. *Neglegere.* An archaism for *negligere*. *Deos neglegere*, for *negligentiam deorum*.

4. *Ex re.* According to their real value.

5. *Magisque vultum*, &c. [And to preserve rather a fair exterior than rectitude of principle.]

6. *Post.* By enallage for *Postea*. *Contagio quasi*, by a sort of contagion, *contagio* being the ablative from *contagium*. [The Bipont edition gives a much better reading than this of Cortius's. It removes the comma after *quasi*, placing one after *contagio*, and another after *pestilentia*. *Contagio* then becomes the nominative to *invasit*, having *vitiorum* understood, and the passage may be rendered;

7 when a moral contagion, like a pestilence, had seized upon it, the state became changed, &c.]

7. *Virtutem.* Governed by *ad* understood.

8. *Bonus.* Used for *fortis*, as appears by its being contrasted with *ignavus*.

9. *Vera via.* By lawful means; *vera* being used for *legitima*.

10. *Studium habet.* For *studium est*, or, *in se complectitur studium.*

11. *Venenis malis.* [Not as some render the phrase, with deadly or pernicious poisons, but simply, with poisons. *Venenum*, like *facinus* and some other nouns, is what the Grammarians were wont formerly to style, *medium nomen*. It properly signifies, that which by its penetrating power changes the natural qualities of any thing: as this may be either good or bad, hence *venenum* comes to signify in the latter case, a poison, in the former, a drug, a medicine, a colouring matter, &c. In this passage Sallust uses the term in its strict sense, and therefore adds the qualifying adjective, so that the terms, when literally rendered, signify with pernicious or poisonous drugs. This, after all, however, is merely an affected archaism on the part of our historian, since, in the pure Latin writers, it became customary to use *venenum*, *facinus*, &c. when standing alone, in a bad sense, without the necessity of employing an adjective. The term φαρμακον in Greek is another well known instance of a *medium nomen*. Herodotus uses the plural form to express colours, I. 98.]

12. *Recepta republica.* For *recuperata*; having recovered, or delivered the state from the tyranny of Marius and Cinna; or *recepta*, may be used for *potitus*, having got possession of the government.

13. *Huc accedebat.* To this was added.

14. *Ductaverat.* For *duxerat*. The frequentative again used for the primitive. *In Asiam*, for *intra Asiam*: so in chap. xix. *in provinciam*, for *intra provinciam*. Some editions have *in Asia*. [The latter is by far the better reading.]

15. *Amœna.* *Jucundus* commonly refers to the mind, *amœnus* to the sight, and *voluptarius* generally denotes corporeal pleasures, particularly lust.

16. *Amare, potare.* *Amare* is here taken in a bad sense for *scortari*. *Bibere*, to drink; *potare*, to tipple. [*Potare*, to drink to excess, to be addicted to drinking. "*Bibunt sobrii, ad naturæ necessitatem; potant ebriosi affluenter, et ad ebrietatem.*" Popma. Sallust means to say that the Roman soldiers had acquired in Asia the habit of drinking to excess; hence *bibere* would have been inadmissible in the text.]

17. *Privatim et publice.* They carried them off by violence, whether they belonged to private persons or to the public: or rather they pilfered them privately, or carried them off publicly by the authority of their generals. *Rapere* is almost always used in a bad sense.

8 18. *Animos fatigant.* Corrupt or enervate the minds.

19. *Ne.* Used for *nedum*, much less, which is the reading in some editions.

20. *Malivolentia.* More commonly written *malevolentia*. Not from a principle of integrity, but through spiteful opposition.

21. *Rapere, consumere.* [Plundered, wasted.] 8

22. *Pudorem, pudicitiam,* &c. [Modesty, chastity, things divine and human without distinction, they utterly disregarded, and in their violation of them acted without the least restraint.]

23. *Verum.* Refers to the sentiment naturally occurring to the mind, on observing the contrast between the simplicity of the ancient temples, and the splendid decorations of the modern; but not expressed in the text.

24. *Sua.* In other editions *suas,* which enfeebles the sense.

25. *Victores.* In most editions is followed by *hostibus,* which renders the thought more forcible, but wholly changes the sense. [The Bipont editor declares the omission of *hostibus* to be "*contra fidem optimorum codicum.*"]

26. *Constructa.* Other editions have *constrata,* some *contracta.* [*Constructa,* built up, constructed, referring to the *piscinæ* or fish-ponds, which the wealthy Romans caused to be formed on the sea-shore, and which were in general of such vast dimensions, as almost to deserve the name of seas. *Constrata,* built upon, referring to the splendid residences of many of the Roman nobility, which were built on large artificial moles projecting into the sea. *Contracta* alludes to the limits of the ocean being encroached upon by these moles and marine palaces.]

27. *Turpidinem.* An old noun, regularly formed from *turpis,* the same with *turpitudinem,* which is the common reading.

28. *Cultus.* Is here taken in a bad sense for refinement or over-niceness in diet and dress.

29. *Vescendi causa.* [For the sake of gratifying the appetite.]

30. *Luxu.* [By luxurious indulgence.]

31. *Lubidinibus.* Written also *libidinibus.* This word is most frequently taken in a bad sense. [The heart corrupted by evil inclinations, could not easily forego the gratification of its vicious propensities.]

32. *Flagitiorum atque facinorum.* A Metonymy for *flagitiosorum* 9 *atque facinorosorum,* which are the words found in some other editions.

33. *Redimeret.* Might buy off; i. e. might escape the punishment due to his crimes by bribery. [*Quo flagitium,* &c. That he might purchase impunity for some infamous or criminal action.]

34. *Convicti judiciis.* [Convicted on trial; condemned by a court of law.]

35. *Par similisque.* Equivalent to *par vel saltem similis;* but the conjunction *que* is rarely used in this sense. Why may not the meaning be, equally expert in wickedness, and similarly disposed to evil?

36. *Obnoxios.* Some editions give *obstrictos;* others insert the pronoun *sibi* after *fidosque,* the omission of which appears to me more elegant. To avoid repetition, we remark that the pronoun, as well as the conjunction, is often elegantly omitted in Cortius's edition, though expressed in others. [*Obnoxios,* obedient. *Obnoxius* properly refers to an obedience founded upon a consciousness of

9 crime and a dread of being exposed to punishment in case we disobey or disoblige him who is privy to our guilt.]

37. *Vestæ.* The priestesses of Vesta, who guarded and maintained the sacred fire, &c. were bound to inviolable chastity, and when convicted of dishonour, were buried alive in the *campus sceleratus*, and their paramours scourged to death in the forum. [The Vestal Virgins were instituted at Rome by Numa, in imitation of a similar priesthood existing at Alba. They were originally four in number: two were added by Tarquinius Priscus or by Servius Tullius, and six continued to be the number ever after. The Vestal alluded to in the text was Fabia Terentia. She was brought to trial by Clodius for a violation of her vow. Several of the most respectable citizens, however, either convinced of her innocence, or wishing to thwart the tribune, exerted themselves in her defence with such success, that she not only obtained sentence of acquittal, but her prosecutor was obliged to flee from Rome. Cato, Catullus, and Cicero espoused her cause. She was the sister of Terentia, the wife of Cicero.]

38. *Jus fasque.* Human and divine law.

39. *Umquam.* More frequently *unquam.*

40. *Vastabat.* A more emphatical word than *vexabat,* which is the reading in some editions.

41. *Colos.* Or *Color, honos* or *honor, labos* or *labor.*

42. *Facie, Vultuque.* *Facies* applies to the features, *vultus* to the expression of the countenance.

10 43. *Ubi eorum famam* &c. [When he had worn away, gradually destroyed their character and sense of shame.]

44. *Circumvenire, jugulare.* Are governed by *imperabat.*

45. *Insontes.* [Those who had given him no cause of offence.]

46. *Manus.* The nominative plural.

47. *Gratuito.* [Without any views of advantage.]

48. *Quod æs alienum,* &c. [Because debts were great throughout all lands. i. e. Because many Roman citizens as well as others were involved in heavy debts in every quarter of the Roman world.]

49. *Exoptabant.* Earnestly desired: such is the force of *ex* in composition.

50. *Opprimundæ.* An archaism for *opprimendæ.* The use of the *u* for *e* in the gerunds and futures of the participles passive will often occur. [*Opprimundæ reipublicæ.* Of crushing the republic.]

51. *Terris.* *Terræ* in the plural signifies both lands and the earth. By *extremis terris* are here meant *Portus* and *Armenia.* [Pompey held this important command by virtue of the Manilian law, proposed by the tribune Manilius, and defended by Cicero in an oration still extant.]

52. *Consulatum petundi.* [Of being allowed to stand candidate for the consulship.]

53. *Senatus nihil sane intentus.* [The Senate without any distrust, or, entirely unapprehensive.]

54. *L. Cæsare,* &c. In the year of the city 690, and 62 years before the Christian æra.

55. *Necessitudo.* Here signifies necessity; more commonly a friendly connection. 10

56. *Senatorii ordinis.* Among the Romans there were three ranks of citizens: senators, *equites* or knights, and *plebes*, or common people. One hundred senators were originally selected out of the whole people; three by each of the thirty *curiæ*, three by each of the three tribes, and one by Romulus These were called *patres*, either from their age, or the nature of their charge, and their descendents *patricii*. One hundred more were chosen from among the Sabines, when Tatius, their king, was admitted to share the sovereignty with Romulus. Yet, according to Livy, there were but one hundred in the whole at the death of Romulus. Tullus Hostilius increased their number after the destruction of Alba; Tarquinius Priscus added one hundred more; so that the whole number to the time of Sylla consisted of about three hundred. After the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, Brutus selected proper characters to supply the place of those who had been destroyed by Tarquin, whose names were enrolled with the remaining senators, and hence they were together called *patres conscripti*. The *equites* did not originally form a distinct order: they were three hundred young men, one hundred selected from each tribe, and distinguished for their rank, wealth, and accomplishments, appointed to guard the person of Romulus, and to serve the state on horseback. They were afterwards, on account of the corruption of the senate, appointed judges; and they were also the farmers of the public revenue, and in that station called *publicani*. The body of the people was denominated *plebs* or *plebes*. Besides these three orders, there was always a great number of slaves in the Roman territory. [Much of what we have hitherto implicitly believed in relation to the earlier arrangement and organization of the Roman state, on the authority of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy, has been proved of late years to be very Apocryphal. The student is referred to the Quarterly Review, Numbers 27 & 63, and to the North American Review, New Series, Number 14.]

57. *Coloniis et municipiis.* The Romans to aid in preserving the fidelity of conquered nations sent among them colonies of their own citizens. *Municipia* were towns in conquered countries, composed originally of Roman citizens, who for their fidelity and good conduct, *munera civium Romanorum ceperunt*, were admitted in a greater or less degree to the privileges of Roman citizens.

58. *Nobiles.* This word is omitted in some editions, though it seems necessary to the sense. [In this expression the author probably included C. Julius Cæsar, M. Antonius, M. Licinius Crassus, &c.]

59. *Qua. Conjuratione* being understood. Other editions have 11
quo, referring to the whole sentence as an antecedent.

60. *P. Autronius & P. Sulla.* After these words in other editions are inserted *designati consules*, which seems necessary to a clear understanding of the author's meaning. The consuls were chosen the latter end of July, or beginning of August, and were then de-

nominated *designati;* though they did not enter upon their offices
11 till the first of January.

61. *Repetundarum.* [This word is simply the future participle passive of *repeto*, and not a defective noun as some make it. When in the genitive, it has *pecuniarum* either expressed as in this passage, or more commonly understood. When in the ablative, *pecuniis.* The action was so termed because by it the money wrongfully obtained from an individual was *demanded back.* Our English term *extortion*, though generally given as the translation of the term, is not, however, comprehensive enough, since the action *repetundarum*, was brought not merely for the recovery of what had been extorted from the individual who complained, but also for what had been obtained by the Roman governors under false pretences or by fraud. Catiline had been appointed a prætor, 68 B. C. and obtained Africa for his province. For his cruel and rapacious administration of this government, he was accused, on its expiration, at Rome.]

62. *Quod intra legitimos dies*, &c. [Because he was unable to declare himself a candidate within the days prescribed by law. The *legitimi dies* were not as Cortius explains them, the 30 days previous to the *Comitia Centuriata*, but, according to Ernesti, only the 17 immediately preceding. *vid Ernesti, Clav. Cic. voc. Trinundinum.* Every candidate for the consulship was compelled by law to give in his name during these 17 days, and required at the same time to be free from all accusation. If any charge were pending against him, he could not sue for the office in question.—*profiteri* has *se candidatum* understood.]

63. *Autronius.* After this word are inserted in some editions *circiter nonas decembr.*

Kalendis, or *Calendis.* From the old verb *calo*, originating from the Greek *καλεω*, *voco.* The first day of every month was called the Calends; because, being the first day of the moon, or the day of new moon, it was necessary for the priests, who had the charge of the Calendar, to have the first day of the month publicly proclaimed to the people. The nones were so called because there were nine days, counting inclusively, between them and the ides, which were so named from the old verb *iduare*, to divide, because they nearly divided the month. The nones of March, May, July, and October, fell on the 7th, and the ides on the 15th day. In the other months the nones fell on the 5th, and the ides on the 13th. The Romans counted backwards: the day before the calends, nones and ides being called *pridie Calendas, nonas, idus, ante* being understood; and the day preceding that, *tertius Kalendas*, &c. The word *Kalendæ* is the only Latin word, except proper names, in which *k* is used. The Greeks divided their months very differently from the Romans. [The priests, besides proclaiming to the people that it was new moon, called over at the same time the number of days between the Kalends and the Nones. This was done because it behoved the people who lived in the country to assemble in the city on the Nones of each month in order to be informed by the *rex sacrorum* of the feasts and holidays, and to learn in general what

they had to do, in regard to sacred matters, during that month. It is to be observed that the Romans, in computing their time, always included the day *from* which, and also the day *to* which they reckoned: thus they called the 1st January *Kalendæ*, the 31st December *pridie Kalendas*, or *Kalendarum*, and the 30th, not *secundo*, but *tertio* (ante) *Kalendas*.] 11

65. *Ipsi.* [Of themselves; of their own authority.]

66. *Fascibus.* The *fasces* were a bundle of rods, with an axe tied in the middle of them, which were carried before the kings, and afterwards before the consuls, as an emblem of their power. [Valerius Poplicola had a law passed, which took away the *securis* or axe from the *fasces*, i. e. it took from the consuls the power of life and death, and only left them the right of scourging. This last, however, was, at a subsequent period, also taken from them by the Porcian and Sempronian laws. Whether the operation of these laws extended beyond the walls of the city, or whether the consul when invested with military command could scourge and behead is a point not very clearly ascertained. See on this subject, the notes to chapter 69, of the Jugurthine war.]

67. *Hispanias.* [By the two Spains are meant Hither and Thither Spain, or, as the Romans called them, *Citerior* and *Ulterior*. Hispania Citerior was afterwards called *Tarraconensis*, from *Tarraco*, or Tarragona, its capital, and extended from the foot of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the *Durius*, now Douro, on the Atlantic shore, comprehending all the north of Spain, together with all the south as far as a line drawn below *Carthago Nova*, now Carthagena, and continued in an oblique direction, to the Durius, above *Salamantica*, now Salamanca. Hispania Ulterior was divided into two provinces, *Bœtica* and *Lusitania*. The former comprised the southern parts of Spain, between the river *Anas*, now Guadiana, and Hispania Citerior: Lusitania corresponded in a great measure to modern Portugal.]

68. *Transtulerant.* In other editions *transtulerunt*, which seems preferable.

69. *Pro curia.* Before the senate-house, or place where the senate met.

70. *Quæstor pro prætore.* With prætorian power. The quæstors had charge of the public money, and of its disbursement, and of the share of the plunder taken by the army, which belonged to the public; for which reason one attended every army. It was the lowest office that gave admission into the senate. The prætors superintended the courts of justice; they were also sent out as governors of provinces, and of course commanded armies. [To send out a quæstor with prætorian power was a very unusual proceeding, and, as in the present instance, sanctioned only by the exigencies of the state.]

71. *Infestum inimicum.* An inveterate enemy. To some editors *inimicum* after *infestum* has appeared superfluous, and is therefore omitted.

72. *Esse.* In some editions *abesse*.

12 73. *In provinciam iter faciens.* [While on a march in his province. *In* for *intra*, according to Cortius. A much better reading is *in provincia.*]

74. *Sunt qui ita dicunt.* [Strict Latinity would require *dicant;* many instances, however, of a similar use of the indicative may be found in the best writers. *Vid. Scheller. Præcept. Styli.* vol. i. p. 166. *Heusinger ad Cic. de Off*, i. 24.]

75. *Clientes.* [Retainers, adherents.]

76. *Adgressos.* An archaism for *aggressos;* so *adpellare* afterwards for *appellare.* *Adgressos esse* is governed by *equites*, horsemen, who, according to Sallust, were old and faithful adherents of Pompey. [See page 17, note 48.]

77. *Præterea.* In any other instance.

78. *Relinquemus.* Some editions have *relinquimus.* *In medio relinquere*, to leave undetermined.

79. *In rem.* For his interest, advantage, or purpose.

80. *Secedit.* In other editions *secessit*, which is certainly preferable, because *habuit* is connected with it by *atque;* unless *secedit* be considered as the old præterperfect tense of the verb.

81. *Arbitris.* [Witnesses. Noltenius defines *arbiter* to be according to its primitive import, " *Occulte adrepens, qui suis occulis videt, suisque auribus audit.*" The most probable opinion is, that it is derived from the obsolete verb *bitere*, being compounded of *ar* for *ad* and *bitere* to go; in the same way as we have *arcesso* for *adcesso.*]

82. *Spectata.* In some editions we find *satis spectata.*

83. *Dominatio.* In some editions, *dominationis.——fuissent.*

84. *Ego.* Both in this and the next sentence is used emphatically, and therefore elegantly expressed.

85. *Per ignaviam, aut vana ingenia.* [By reason of cowardly or irresolute associates.]

86. *Ausus.* In most editions *sum* is expressed after *ausus*, whereas in that of Cortius, *sum*, *est*, and *esse*, are constantly and elegantly understood.

87. *Incipere.* Used for *suscipere.*

88. *Eadem mihi.* In most editions *eadem quæ mihi*, which pleases me much better. [" *Cortius*," observes the Bipont editor, " *delet* quæ, *ad aucupandum Græcismum.*"]

89. *Nam idem velle*, &c [For to have the same desires and the same aversions is the firmest bond of friendship.]

90. *Tetrarchæ.* [Tetrarchs. *Tetrarcha* originally signified one who ruled over the fourth part of a country or kingdom. Afterwards, however, the term merely came to denote a minor or inferior potentate, without any reference to the extent of territory governed. Thus, according to Strabo, Gallo-Græcia in Asia Minor was governed at first by 12 tetrarchs, afterwards by 3, and lastly by 2, previous to its being made a kingdom.]

91. *Populi, nationes.* *Natio* denotes the whole people, *gens* a family, and *populi* tribes, several of which go to compose a nation.

92. *Valeret.* Were vigorous: [had strength: if the laws were in force.]

93. *Nonne emori*, &c. [Is it not better bravely to encounter a

speedy death, than disgracefully to part with a wretched and ignominious existence, after you have been the sport of another's pride?] 13

94, *Viget ætas, animus valet.* [Our age flourishes, i. e. our years are vigorous, our spirit is unbroken,]

95. *Cætera res expediet.* A phrase which will hardly admit of a literal translation: the meaning is, the rest will follow of course. [*Expediet* governs *se*, understood. The passage may perhaps be literally rendered; the remainder of the affair will extricate itself, (from the difficulties, namely, which at present surround it).]

96. *Amplius.* This is precisely the word applicable to the verb *continuare*. *Plures* would have been less elegant. *Continuare binas domos*, &c. They erect two houses together or contiguous, or even continue the building farther.

97. *Larem.* *Lar* properly signifies a family god: sometimes by Metonymy, a house or hearth. [The *Lares* of the Romans appear to have been the *manes* of their ancestors. Small waxen images of them, clothed with the skin of a dog, were placed around the hearth in the hall. On festivals they were crowned with garlands, and sacrifices were offered to them. There were not only *Lares domestici et familiares*, but also *Compitales et viales*, *militares et marini*, &c. In this passage of Sallust, *lar* signifies an abode.]

98. *Nova.* *Ædificia* must be understood.

99. *Trahunt, vexant.* They scrape together, they squander. Some suppose *trahunt* to be used for *distrahunt*, they dissipate.

100. *Summa*, &c. They cannot exhaust their riches by the greatest extravagance. N. B. In Cortius's edition, the pronouns not emphatical, nor absolutely necessary to the sense, are constantly and elegantly omitted.

1. *Mala rés, spes multo asperior.* [Our present condition is a wretched one, our hope of the future worse.]

2. *Res.* Property.

3. *Quid ubique.* Sallust both here and elsewhere uses *ubique* for *et ubi.*

4. *Tabulas novas.* An abolition or remission of debts. The Romans kept their accounts on tables covered with wax, and when the debts were discharged, the former marks were smoothed over with the flat side of the *stylus*, and the tables were ready for a new score. 14

5. *Proscriptionem.* Proscription, a pernicious practice introduced by Sylla during the civil wars. The victorious party set up tablets in public places, containing the names of their enemies, and offering a reward to the person who should assassinate them. The goods of the proscribed were also confiscated and sold.

6. *Citeriore.* Hither Spain, i. e. the division of the country nearest Italy. [See page 11, note 67.]

7. *Eo.* *Cum* being understood; in some editions it is expressed, as is commonly the case when accompanyment is signified. [*Eo* refers to Antonius, *consulem* to Catiline; that in conjunction with him (Antonius), he (Cataline) would make a beginning of acting, i. e. of the enterprise. Cortius attempts to explain this passage in a

14 very strange manner, and makes it equivalent to, *quique propterea, si consul declaratus esset, per se initium facturus esset rerum*, &c. referring *consulem* to *Antonius*.]

8. *Increpat.* Some editions have *increpabat*.

9. *Admonebat.* In some editions *admonere*.

10. *Cupidatis sui.* [Of his ruling propensity.]

11. *Humani corporis sanguinem.* [According to Dio Cassius, a boy was slain by the conspirators, and an oath taken by them over his entrails.

12. *Inde cum post exsecrationem*, &c. [That when, after invoking a solemn curse upon their own heads in case they proved faithless, they had all slightly tasted thereof. *Inde* should not have a comma after it, since it refers to the contents of the cup, and is elegant Latinity.]

13. *Atque eo dictare*, &c. [*Dirtitare* does not refer to Catiline, but is used for *dictitabant*, and refers to those persons who propagated the report in question; and they reported that he had done it with this view, in order that, &c.

14. *Alius——conscii.* A partitive pronoun singular joined to a plural adjective.

15. *Ciceronis invidiam.* [This phrase is to be taken as the Grammarians say, passively, and means, the odium *against* Cicero.]

16. *Pro magnitudine.* [Considering its importance: i. e. The proof on which this accusation rests is too slight, considering the heavy nature of the charge, for me to express any definite or decided opinion on the subject.]

17. *Conventione.* In some editions *conjuratione*. The former seems the proper term in this place.

Flagitiis, &c. *Facinus* implies any action, good or bad; *scelus*, a wicked action, and *flagitium*, an action both wicked and disgraceful; scandalous, flagitious.

19. *Amoverant.* In some editions *moverant*. The former seems preferable. The censors were officers of the highest dignity in the state, and their station was reckoned more honourable than that of the consuls. They took a survey of the people and their property every fifth year, and punished by disgrace or degradation of rank; their office being instituted for preserving the morals of the people, as well as for the apportionment of taxes.

20. *Vanitas. Inerat* understood: in some editions it is expressed. [*Vanitas* here signifies, inconsiderateness, want of judgment.]

15 21. *Sublato auctore.* [*De narratione* understood.] Having concealed the name of her informant.

22. *Pleraque.* Observe here that *pleraque* is in the nominative singular, [in which number it is rarely found.]

23. *Credebant.* Rather *credebat*, as connected to *æstuabat*: though *nobilitas* might otherwise admit a plural verb.

24. *Novus.* A new man, a person who had risen by his own merit, none of whose ancestors had borne a curule office.

25. *Popularis.* [The accomplices: *socios* understood.]

26. *Fæsulas.* *Fæsulæ*, a town of Tuscany, towards the Appe-

nines. [It lay east of *Florentia*, or Florence, and is now Fiezola. It is at present rather a village than a town.] 15

27. *Manlium*. [This Manlius had held a commission in the army of Sylla, under whom he had acquired considerable military experience, and accumulated great wealth, which he soon dissipated by the greatest extravagance.]

28. *Ubi ætas*, &c. [When age had set a limit to their sources of gain, and not to their attachment to pleasure. *Neque* is here equivalent to *et non*.

29. *Elegantius*. [With more elegance, with more skill. This word seems used in a bad sense, referring to loose, indecent, and theatrical gestures in dancing, which at the same time, however, were not ungraceful. In the earlier period of the Roman republic, both dancing and music were held in little repute. After the adoption of Grecian customs and habits, more regard was paid to them, and they met with less censure, especially music. In the corrupt ages of the empire, when public morals were at their lowest ebb, dancing of course came fully into vogue, and without any blame being attached to it. It may perhaps excite our surprise that the Romans should have condemned what we regard as so innocent an amusement, but we should bear in mind that the dancing which the Romans censured, can only be compared with the worst species of our opera-dancing, since they had also their religious dances, those of the Salii in particular, which were sanctioned by the practice of ages. The Latin verb which we translate to dance, properly signifies, to leap high and frequently; the corresponding Greek verb (ορχεομαι) has a similar meaning: Plato in his Cratylus explains it by μετεωριζω and παλλω; so Antiphanes in Athenæus, p. 688. b. has the expression καρδια ορχειται, the heart leaps, for καρδια πηδα: see also Æschylus. Choeph. 164.]

30. *Multa alia*. These words depend in construction on *docta*, [i. e. on a preposition understood. Versed in many other accomplishments.]

31. *Decerneres*. Other editions have *discerneres*: either is admissable. [*Haud facile decerneres*. You could not easily determine: *haud facile discerneres*, you could not easily distinguish.] 16

32. *Creditum abjuraverat*. [Had foresworn a trust reposed in her.]

33. *Facetiæ*. [*Facetiæ* denotes gracefulness in general, or that elegance of wit and humour, which indicates a correct and delicate taste.—The primary idea implied in *Lepos* and *lepidus*, is sweetness or softness, opposed to what is harsh and rough, and the term is confined to the mode of expression; whereas *facetiæ* is applicable to the sentiment, as well as the diction or gesture, designating the character of the mind, as possessed of taste and judgment. *Vid*. Crombie's Gymnasium, vol. 2, p. 36. If, after these premises, I might venture to translate the passage in Sallust to which this note refers, it would be as follows. In a word, she possessed a large share of refined wit, and much captivating sweetness of expression.]

34. *Dolus aut astutiæ*. [Dexterity or address. *Dolus* here is

16 equivalent to what the civilians call *dolus bonus*, i. e. a stratagem put in operation against an enemy, in one's own defence. Thus Ulpian, *Veteres* dolum *etiam* bonum *dicebant*, *et pro* sollertia *hoc nomen accipiebant : maxime si adversus hostem latronemve aliquis machinetur.*]

35. *Provinciæ.* [The province of Macedonia had fallen to the lot of Cicero, but he generously yielded it to Antonius, who, being in indigent circumstances by reason of his dissipated life, was the more easily inclined to receive a rich province as the price of his adherence to the state. Antonius held the government of Macedonia for two years after the expiration of his consulship, and on his return to Rome, was brought to trial and sentenced to perpetual banishment, for extortion, and for making war beyond the bounds of his province. (Liv. Ep. 103.) Before he obtained that government the censors had expelled him from the senate. He appears to have been a man of profligate habits.]

36. *Perpulerat.* [He had prevailed upon, induced.]

37. *Ne contra*, &c. That he should not cherish sentiments contrary to the interests of the state.

38. *Clientium.* Romulus ordained that every plebeian should choose from the patricians some individual for his patron and protector, whose client he was called. It was the patron's duty to advise, defend, and assist his client with his interest and substance. The client was bound to respect his patron, and to serve him with his life and fortune.

39. *Comitiorum.* Of election. *Comitium*, in the singular denoted the place, or part of the forum, where the people assembled; in the plural it signified an assembly of the whole people for the election of magistrates: hence, in the present case it may be translated election. *Concilium* signified an assembly of only a part of the people.

40. *Consulibus in campo.* Some editions have *consuli*, referring to Cicero, without *campo*. The *campus martius* was a spacious plain along the Tiber, where the Roman youth performed their exercises, and where the *comitia centuriata* were held for choosing the greater magistrates, consuls, praetors, and censors, and for passing the laws proposed by them. This plain was originally the property of the Tarquins, and was after their expulsion consecrated to Mars. [The Bipont edition reads *consuli* for *consulibus*, referring the term to Cicero alone.]

41. *Eam partem Etruriæ.* [The part adjacent to Fæsulæ is meant.]

42. *Camertem.* A Camertian, from a city in Umbria, called Camerinum, Camerta, or Camers, now Camerino, within the territories of the pope.

43. *Agrum Picenum.* The march of Ancona comprehends the greated part of Picenum. *Ager* was used to denote a small district which took its name from the chief town in it.

44. *Apuliam.* A part of Italy lying along the Adriatic, between Daunia and Calabria, now called La Puglia.

45. *Obsidere.* [A verb of the *third* conjugation, from *obsido*: occupied.]

46. *Cum telo esse.* He carried a weapon about him; a phrase taken from the twelve tables. [It was forbidden to wear any weapon in the city. Hence upon any sudden provocation the Romans used the *graphium* or *stylus* as a weapon, which they carried in a case. Hence probably the *stiletto* of the modern Italians.] 16

47. *Intempesta nocte.* In the dead of night, far on in the night, when the night was far advanced.— 17

48. *Obficere.* An archaism for *officere.* [According to Scheller, however, L. G. Vol. 1, p. 127, it is a question whether the ancients ever altered the form of the prepositions when in composition. He considers it to be always more accurate to retain as far as possible the prepositions in an unaltered form; as *adfero, adtuli, adlatum; inretio, inmergo,* &c.]

49. *Ea nocte, paullo post,* &c. ["*Paullo post intempestam noctem,*" observes Cortius, "*hoc est primo mane, illud enim tempus salutationum erat.*" It was the custom at Rome for the consuls to hold their levees early in the morning.]

50. *Intellegit.* An archaism for *intelligit*: thus in the next chapter *volgi* for *vulgi*.

51. *Latrones.* [Governed by *sollicitare* understood.]

52. *Sullanis colonis.* The soldiers of Sylla settled as colonists on the lands of the Tuscans, who had embraced the party of Marius.

53. *Ancipiti malo.* By the double danger, both within and without the city.

54. *Privato consilio.* [By his single management; by his own private vigilance.]

55. *Rem ad senatum refert.* Lays the matter before the senate; proposes it to the senate. *Referre senatui,* to relate to the senate.

56. *Exagitatam* &c. [Spread abroad; noised abroad; make a theme of common conversation. *Exagitatum*, however, would make a much better reading, and would refer to the Senate being agitated and alarmed by the popular rumours, previous to Cicero's formal reference.]

57. *In atroci negotio.* [In a dangerous conjuncture; in a case of extreme danger.]

58. *Ea.* This word is in the ablative: and the sentence may be supplied thus: *Ea formula decreti, potestas,* &c.

59. *Imperium atque judicium summum habere.* [To exercise the highest military and civil authority.] 18

60. *Earum rerum jus.* [Authority in these matters.]

61. *Recitavit.* [Read aloud. *legere,* to read, to peruse with the eyes without uttering any sound, *recitare,* to read out aloud, that others may hear.]

62. *Ante diem sextam kalendas.* For *diem sextam ante kalendas.* [*Diem* is governed by *in* understood. Cicero, *Phil.* III. 8. has it expressed: *in ante diem* IV. *Kal. Dec.* see also *Catil.* 1. 3.—The sixth day before the kalends of November was the 27th October. See page 11, note 64.]

63. *Capuæ.* [At Capua; a noble city of Campania. After the battle of Cannæ, the veterans of Hannibal were quartered in Capua, and the luxury of that city proved fatal to the bravery of his

18 troops. Soon after the retreat of the Carthaginian general, it surrendered at discretion to the Roman consuls Appius Claudius, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who butchered the senators, condemned the nobles to perpetual banishment, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. Although colonies were afterwards sent to this city, it never recovered its ancient magnificence. Modern Capua is of much less extent than the ancient city, and stands on the site, not of Capua, but of Casilinum.]

64. *Senati.* [Many nouns in Latin appear to have been originally of the second as well as fourth declension. *vid. Scheller. L. G.* Vol. 1. p. 90.—*Struve ueber die Lateinische Declin. und Conj.* §7.]

65. *Circumque.* *Circum* is here taken for *circumjacentia.*

66. *Ad urbem.* At, or near the city. Generals who expected a triumph were not allowed to enter the city before their triumph. [If they entered the city previously, they lost their right to a triumph, since their military power immediately ceased. It required a special law to be passed giving them military power in the city on the day of their triumph.]

67. *Sed Prætores.* [*Quoque missi* understood.]

68. *Pro tempore atque periculo.* [In proportion to the exigency and the danger.]

69. *Sestertia centum.* The common computation of money among the Romans was by *sestertii* and *nummi.* The *sestertius*, sesterce, was a silver coin worth two *asses* and a half, marked by the letters L. L. S. for *libra*, *libra*, *semis*, two pounds and a half of brass; sometimes abbreviated by contracting L. L. into H, thus, H. S. The *sestertius* was worth one penny 3¾ farthings sterling. *Sestertium* is one thousand *sestertii*: therefore, *decem sestertii* is just ten sesterces, whereas, *decem sestertia* means ten thousand sesterces. When a numeral adverb is joined to *sestertium*, it expresses so many hundred thousand: thus, *decies sestertium* make ten hundred thousand sesterces. [The term *Sestertius* is shortened from *Semistertius*: the first an *as*, the second an *as*, the third a half *as*. See Schweighaeuser on Herodotus, I. 50.]

70. *Gladiatoriæ familiæ.* Gladiators were kept and maintained in schools by persons called *Lanistæ*, who purchased and trained them. The whole number under one *Lanista* was called *familia.* The lesser magistrates were the *Quæstors*, *Ædiles*, *Tribunes*, and *Triumvirs.*

19 71. *Reipublicæ magnitudine.* Some editions have *pro reipublicæ magnitudine timor insolitus incesserat.* Cortius's text is preferable.

72. *Adflictare.* An archaism for *afflictare*, which is the frequentative used for the primitive *affligere.*

73. *Tamen esti.* Afterwards contracted into *tametsi.*

74. *Lege Plautia.* A law proposed by Plautius, tribune of the people, for the punishment of those who should plot against the senate, magistrates, or private men, or should offer violence to them.

75. *Atque sui.* Some editions have, *et quasi sui, &c.*

76. *Orationem.* [The first against Catiline.]

77. *Ubi ille adsedit.* [When he took his seat, *adsidere*, to sit down, *adsidere*, to keep one's seat, to be sitting by the side of.]

78. *Æstumarent.* For *æstimarent.* Some editions have *existimarent.* 19

79. *Inquilinus.* From *incolinus*, a derivative of *incola*, a tenant, or rather a citizen whose right of citizenship was derived from his habitation, not from his birth; Cicero was born at Arpinum. [*Inquilinus civis*, an adventitious citizen; or, as we would express it, naturalised citizen. Plutarch makes Catiline to have uttered these remarks previous to Cicero's oration. Cicero himself, in giving an account to the people, on the following day of what had passed in the senate, states expressly, that Catiline in spite of his boldness did not dare to make any reply to his speech. II *Catil.* VI. 13. He makes the same remark in his *Orator*, xxxvii. 129.]

80. *Incendium meum.* [The conflagration kindled against me, or around me. Cicero in his oration for *Muræna*, xxv. 31, states this threat was uttered by Catiline to Cato, some days before the meeting of the senate, when Cicero, in order to defeat the intrigues of Catiline, caused the consular *comitia* to be put off to a future day.]

81. *Insidiæ consuli.* *Factæ* being understood.

82. *Optumum factum.* Some editions have *factu*, which at first sight seems the preferable reading. *Factum* is, however, defensible, and the sentence will then run thus: *Credens augere exercitum esse optimum factum*, believing the increase of his army to be his best measure; or, that to increase, &c.

83. *Ceterisque.* In Cortius's edition this word is always written with an *e*, and not *æ* in the first syllable. [*Ceteri* should always be with an *e*, since it comes from the Greek ἕτεροι, the asperate being changed into *c*, as in *cornu*, horn.]

84. *Prope diem.* These words are sometimes united, sometimes separated, and signify the same thing with *brevi*, *statim*. 20

85. *Ad urbem accessurum.* *Accedo*, followed by *ad*, signifies, I go or come to; with a dative, I assent or agree to, or, with; but in the third person singular, with the dative, it signifies, it is added to.

86. *Cum mandatis.* [With a message, despatch, manifesto.]

87. *Homini.* *Cuivis* being understood. Some editions exhibit *aliis* instead of *homini*: *homini* appears more elegant.

88. *Fama atque fortunis expertes.* [Deprived of our character and property.]

89. *Lege.* The Papirian law, enacted to prevent the cruelty of creditors against their debtors.

90. *Liberum corpus.* To have their persons at liberty, not bound with chains, nor confined to a prison; practices, which, if we are to credit the remonstrance of Manlius, were not wholly disused, though illegal.

91. *Argentum ære solutum est.* [The law proposed by Valerius Flaccus, and passed by the people is here alluded to. By the provisions of this law, the *fourth part* only of the debt was paid, an *as* for a *sestertius*, and a *sestertius*, for a *denarius*, or 25 for 100, and 250 for 1000. The *sestertius* originally was equal to two *asses* and an half, and the *denarius* to ten; when, however, the weight of the *as* was diminished to one ounce, a *denarius* passed for 16 *asses*, and a

20 *sestertius* for 4, which proportion continued when the *as* was reduced to half an ounce.]

92. *Bonus*. *Nemo bonus*, no man of spirit, *bonus* being here used for *fortis*.

93. *Consulatis*. *Ut* is understood after *licet*, *oportet*, *necesse est*, *dico*, *volo*, *facio*, *sino*, *caveo*, and verbs of asking and commanding.

94. *Quonam modo*, &c. [In what way we may perish after having most effectually avenged our blood: how we may sell our lives most dearly.]:

95. *Marcius*. *Respondit* is elegantly understood.

96. *Ab armis discedant*. Should lay down their arms.

97. *Optumo cuique*. All the most influential men.

21 98. *Massiliam*. [A famous city of Gallia Narbonensis, now called Marseilles. According to Strabo, a colony of Greeks from Phocea in Asia Minor, founded this city, and established a republic, adopting the Ionian laws, and the religious rites of the Ephesians. In consequence of the sterility of the country, he adds, they depended for their subsistence more on navigation than on agriculture. It was eminent as a seat of learning and much resorted to at one period by the Romans. It suffered greatly by espousing the party of Pompey.]

99. *Quo*. In the ablative case, and by virtue of the signification which that case bears may be taken for *quia or quod*.

100. *S*. An abbreviation for *Salutem*, *dicit* being understood; the complimentary salutation among the Romans; equivalent to—presents his respects; greets.

1. *Egregia tua fides*, &c. [Your distinguished integrity, known to me by experience, has given a pleasing confidence to my recommendation, i. e. has inspired me with a pleasing confidence in recommending my concerns to your care.]

2. *Quamobrem defensionem*, &c. [*Defensio* is here opposed to *satisfactio*, and signifies, a formal defence in the presence of one's enemies, while *satisfactio* denotes, a general explanation, such as many satisfy a friend. The whole passage may hence be rendered as follows: Wherefore, as regards the novel step which I have taken, I have resolved not to prepare a formal defence against my enemies, but, without any consciousness of misconduct on my part, have determined to lay before you such an explanation as may satisfy the doubts of a friend.]

3. *Quam—veram*. Referring to *conscientia*. Some editions have *quæ—vera*.

4. *Me dius fidius*. A corruption of speech for *ma dios filium*; the ancients having often changed *l* into *d*: or it is an elliptical expression for *me dios filios juvet*. In both cases it is a species of oath by Hercules the son of Jupiter. The Roman men swore by Hercules, the women by Castor, and both by Pollux. [Perhaps the simplest mode of explaining the phrase in question is to make it equivalent to *Deus fidei*, the god of honour, Hercules.]

Statum dignitatis, &c. I did not obtain a rank or station suitable to my dignity. He had been a prætor, and conceived himself entitled to the consulship.

6. *Meis nominibus.—alienis nominibus.* Contracted in my own name, and under my own signature, or in the name of others; i. e. debts contracted by others on my account, or for which others have become securities. Otherwise: debts contracted for my own behoof, or for the benefit of others. The former meaning accords best with the account before given in the history. 21

7. *Honore honestatos.* Raised to honour, graced with honours.

8. *Falsa suspicione alienatum.* Alienated, rejected, disgraced, or rather treated as a stranger, in consequence of unjust suspicion.

9. *Hoc nomine,* &c. [On this account I have pursued means sufficiently honourable, considering my present circumstances, for preserving what consideration there is left me.]

10. *Eam ab injuria,* &c. [Defend her from injury, being intreated thereto by the love which you bear toward your own offspring. *Precor te ut eam defendas ab injuria, cum sis rogatus per liberos tuos.*]

11. *Haveto.* An archaism for *aveto.* [Catullus uses this form, Carm. 98.

Accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu,
Atque in perpetuum, frater, Have atque Vale.

Vid. Quintilian. I. 6. 21. Ed. Spalding.]

12. *Arretino.* [The common reading is *Reatino;* as *Reate,* however, was a town of the Sabines, and as Catiline was proceeding along the Aurelian way, under the pretence of retiring to Massilia, but in reality to join Manlius, it is far preferable to adopt *Arretino* as the reading. *Arretium,* now Arezzo, was an ancient town of Etruria.]

13. *Sine fraude.* With impunity; without danger: though it oftener signifies, without fraud, sincerely.

14. *Præter.* A preposition here used adverbially for *præterquam.*

15. *Dilectum.* An archaism for *delectum.* [The orthgraphy is indifferent: *delectus* is from *deligo, dilectus* from *dilego* to choose out of several. In Oudendorp's edition of Cæsar, *dilectus* is always preferred.] 22

16. *Paterent.* Some editions have *parerent,* which may appear preferable.

17. *Duobis senati decretis.* [Notwithstanding two decrees of the senate: though two decrees of the senate had been passed. *Factis* understood.]

18. *Aliena.* [Alienated from the public welfare.]

19. *Adeo.* Indeed.

20. *Bonis invident. Bonis,* from its reference to *opes,* evidently signifies in this place, the wealthy, the better sort, as they are sometimes called. Thus we attach the same idea frequently in our language to good company. Among mercantile people in our day, a good man signifies, a man of property, one who may be safely trusted. *Malos* will of course in this place signify the poor, the lower class.

21. *Plebes.* [The nominative absolute; unless we remove the
22 comma after *plebes*, and in place of *ea* read *a*. After *præceps ierat*, understand *in consilia Catilinæ*.]

22. *Per dedecora.* *Turpiter, flagitiose:* basely, disgracefully: Sallust, in imitation of the Greeks, frequently uses substantives governed by prepositions in lieu of adverbs, or rather to express the meaning of adverbs.

23. *Gregariis,* &c. Common soldiers.

24. *Regio victu,* &c. Lived like princes: kept tables, and supported an equipage equal to those of kings. [Lived with all the luxury and pomp of kings.]

25. *Si in formis forent.* [If they should be in arms at the time of obtaining it.]

26. *Reipublicæ juxta.* *Juxta* is here taken adverbially. They
23 showed no more regard to the public interest than to their own. *Consulo te*, I consult you, I ask your advice; *consulo tibi*, I provide for you.

27 *Jus libertatis imminutum.* Had been deprived of the privileges of freemen; for Sylla had declared the children of the proscribed incapable of standing candidates for public offices.

28. *Atque.* *Atque* and *ac* after *alius, secus, aliter, alter*, are used for *quam;* after *juxta, æque*, they serve for *ut*, as.

29. *Id adeo malum.* That so great evil [I should prefer translating this passage as follows: To such a degree, i. e. with such violence, had that evil after many years of cessation, returned upon the state.]

30. *Tribunicia potestas.* See Jugurtha, note on Tribunus, chap. 27. [Sylla abridged, and in a manner extinguished the power of the tribunes, but after his death it was restored. In the consulship of Cotta, A. U. 679, they obtained the right of enjoying other offices; and in that of Pompey and Crassus, A. U. 683, all their former powers. Pompey's conduct in this affair is condemned by Cicero, and justly, since the tribunes became now mere tools in the hands of the ambitious and powerful.]

31. *Senati specie.* Under the pretence of supporting the dignity and interest of the senate.

32. *Absolvam.* In some editions we find *verum absolvam.*

33. *Nominibus.* Pretexts.

34. *Maritimum.* The maritime war against the Cilicians supported by Mithridates, called also the piratical war.

35. *Mithridaticum.* The war with Mithridates, king of Pontus.

36. *Innoxii.* Taken passively; unhurt; though the word is frequently used actively, and signifies innocent.

37. *Judiciis.* By menacing them with trials or prosecutions.

38. *Placidius.* More quietly, more peaceably, with less trouble. *Placidius tractarent* may be referred either to the nobility, or to the tribunes: if to the latter, the meaning will be, that the tribunes might be less violent in their office, or less disposed to stir up commotions among the people, through dread of prosecution by the nobility, after the expiration of their tribuneship.

39. *Dubiis rebus novandis.* For making an alteration in their perilous condition. 23

40. *Extra conjurationem.* Not engaged in the conspiracy. 24

41. *Parens.* Fathers among the Romans had the power of inflicting capital punishment on their children. [Valerius Maximus, in relating this affair, adds, that the father declared to the son, that he had begotten him not for Catiline against his country, but for his country against Catiline : "*Non se Catilinæ illum adversus patriam, sed patriæ adversus Catilinam genuisse.*" Val. Max. 5. 8. 5.]

42. *Allobrogum.* [A people of Gaul, whose country lay between *Isara*, the Isere, and *Rhodanus*, the Rhone. They bravely, and for a long time resisted the power of the Roman legions, but were at last defeated by Pomtinus. Their chief town was *Vienna*, now Vienne, on the left bank of the Rhone, 13 miles below *Lugdunum*, Lyons.]

43. *Negotiatus.* [scil. *erat:* had traded. Cortius distinguishes between the *negotiatores* and *mercatores* among the Romans, as follows: The *Negotiatores*, under the republic especially, were they who remained for some considerable time, not continually however, in one particular place, whether at Rome or in the provinces; the *Mercatores*, on the contrary, remained a very short time in any place, they visited many countries, and were almost constantly occupied with importing or exporting articles of merchandise.]

44. *Quin.* More elegant than *quod non*, which is the reading in some editions.

45. *Ab Roma aberat.* [This is one of the examples which Priscian adduces in support of the position, that the preposition is often, more especially by historians, added to the ablative of names of places.]

46. *Quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset.* [That what he should say might have greater weight.]

47. *Innoxios.* Innocent persons.

48. *Majores opes.* [More powerful resources: those namely of the republic] 25

49. *Patrocinio.* Individual noblemen, or particular families of patrician rank, were sometimes patrons of whole states. [These patrons of states were generally those who had reduced them under the Roman power, or had at some time or other been appointed governors over them; and the right of patronage was transmitted by them to their descendants. In the present instance, Q. Fabius Sanga derived his right of patronage from his ancestor, Q. Fabius Maximus, who finally reduced the Allobroges and hence was surnamed *Allobrogicus*.]

50. *Studium.* An attachment to.

51. *Bene polliceantur.* Should promise fair; should make good promises.

52. *Gallia citeriore.* Hither Gaul, the province nearest to Rome. [Otherwise called Cisalpine Gaul; lying south of the Alps, and forming the northern division of Italy.]

53. *Bruttio. Bruttium*, Calabria inferior.

25 54. *Agere.* [Acted; conducted themselves. The Bipont edition retains *cuncta simul*, which Cortius wishes to remove from the text. The translation then will be: put all their schemes in operation, at one and the same moment.]

55. *Ulteriore Gallia.* Farther Gaul, the province farthest from Rome. [The same with Transalpine Gaul, or Gaul beyond the Alps. In some editions, *citeriore Gallia* is read, incorrectly however, since Muræna was governor there. *vid. Cic. pro Muræna*, 41.]

56. *Videbantur.* *Copiæ* being the nominative. In some editions we read *videbatur*, taken impersonally.

57. *Constituerant.* *Lentulus cum cæteris* being the nominative. In some editions *constituerat*, agreeing with *Lentulus*, which I should prefer. The other construction appears harsh.

58. *Actionibus.* The proceedings.

59. *Invidiam.* The odium, the blame.

60. *Divisa.* Distributed, allotted.

26 61. *Alius autem alium.* [*Adgrederetur* understood. That one should attack one, another attack another: i. e. that each one should single out his victim.]

62. *Dies prolatando.* By delaying, putting off the time.

63. *Conveniunt.* This verb, governing the accusative, signifies, to meet with, to assemble, &c; with the dative, it is generally used in the third person, and signifies, it agrees with, suits, befits, is convenient, is meet. [*Conveniunt cæteros*, obtain an interview with the rest. In addition to what is stated above respecting the verb *convenio*, it may not be amiss to notice the following constructions: *convenire in urbem*, to come into the city to assemble; *convenire in urbe*, to assemble in the city, is said of the inhabitants. This distinction is analagous to that between *abdere se in silvas*, and *abdere se in silvis*, the former denoting that they went into the woods, the latter that they were there before they hid themselves.]

64. *Jusjurandum.* [An oath; i. e. a written promise in the language and form of an oath, that the conspirators would afford relief to the Allobroges, if the latter joined in the plot and it should prove successful.]

65. *Signatum..* [Under seal: it was customary among the Romans for the letter, or rather the tablets composing it, to be tied round with a string, the knot of which was sealed. The seal was generally a head of the letter-writer, or of some one of his ancestors, impressed on wax or chalk. In the present instance, the knot or string was impressed with the seals of the conspirators respectively, as appears from chap. 47.]

66. *Crotoniensem.* [A native of Croto or Crotona, a large city of the Bruttians. It was founded by a Grecian colony 959. B. C. Pythagoras established his school here, and is said by his doctrine and example to have greatly reformed the dissolute manners of the people.]

67. *In quanta calamitate.* [In how desperate a situation.]

68. *Tuæ rationes.* Your circumstances.

69. *Mulvio.* Now called Ponte Molle, about two miles from the 26
city. [At this bridge commenced the *via Flaminia,* which led from
Rome to Ariminium.]

70. *Comitatus.* Retinue.

71. *Cetera,* &c. He directs them to take such other measures 27
as appeared necessary.

72. *Homines militares.* [The Prætors, men of military experience.]

73. *Multa.* [Earnestly.]

74. *Lætabatur.* In some editions *intelligens* is inserted after *lætabatur,* which appears superfluous.

75. *Perdundæ reipublicæ.* *Causæ,* or *causam* may be understood. In some editions we find *fore,* and *credebat* is omitted; but neither *fore* nor *credebat* seems absolutely necessary: they will be readily supplied by the intelligent reader. *Perdundæ reipublicæ,* if the dative, may be governed by *fore,* whether expressed or understood, if the genitive, must be governed by *causæ,* or *causam* understood.

76. *Terracinensem.* Terracina, still so called, was a maritime city of the Volsci, on the frontiers of Naples, formerly called *Anxur.*

77. *Perducit.* Before this word, in some editions, we read, *in senatum,* which may be thought tautological; since the idea is fully expressed afterwards by the words *in ædem concordiæ.*

78. *Magnaque frequentia,* &c. In a very full house, in a very full senate.

79. *Quid, aut qua de causa,* &c. [i. e. *Quid consilii, aut qua de causa id consilii habuisset.* What design he had in view, or why he entertained such a design.]

80. *Fide publica.* On the public faith: on a promise of impunity from government.

81. *Sibyllinis.* A certain woman, named Amalthæa, f[illegible]- 28
reign country, offered for sale to Tarquinius Superbus, the l[illegible]ng
of Rome, nine books of the Sibylline, or prophetic oracles, but at an exorbitant price; which Tarquin refusing, she burnt three of them, still demanding the same price for the remaining six. Being ridiculed by the king, she burnt three more, without abating her price for the remaining three. Tarquin, surprized at her strange conduct, consulted the augurs, who, regretting the loss of the books which had been burnt, advised the king to pay her demand, on delivery of the three remaining books. Two persons at first, then ten, afterwards fifteen were appointed to take charge of these books, hence called *Quindecimviri.* These books were supposed to contain the fate of the republic, and in time of public danger or calamity were consulted by order of the senate. They of course became a very useful engine of state; but were burnt in the Marsic war, A. U. 690. Ambassadors were sent every where to collect the oracles of the Sibyls, of whom there were several; the chief of them was the Sibyl of Cumæ. From the verses collected in this search, the

28 *Quindecimviri* compiled new books, which, by order of Augustus, were deposited in two gilt cases under the base of Apollo's statue, in his temple on the Palatine hill.

82. *Corneliis.* Of the Cornelian family.

83. *Potiri.* This verb governs the ablative, the genitive, and sometimes the accusative. *Potiri rebus,* to enjoy the world, as we sometimes speak; i. e. pleasure, wealth, &c. *potiri rerum,* to possess supreme power.

84. *Incenso.* The first burning of the capital is intended; for it was thrice destroyed by fire. [The capital was built on the Tarpeian or Capitoline mount by Tarquinius Superbus; burnt A. U. C. 670; rebuilt by Sylla and dedicated by Q. Catulus, A. U. C. 675; again burnt by the soldiers of Vitellius, A. D. 70; and rebuilt by Vespasian. At his death it was burnt a third time, and restored by Domitian with greater magnificence than ever.]

85. *Haruspices.* From *ara,* anciently *hara,* and *specio;* the priests who derived omens of futurity from examining the victims and their entrails after sacrifice.

86. *Abdicatus.* Some editions have *abdicato.* No person among the Romans could be brought to trial unless he was in a private station; therefore Lentulus, who was prætor, was obliged to abdicate his magistracy.

87. *Liberis custodiis.* In prison at large; they were not committed to close prison, but were given in charge to magistrates, or private persons of respectability.

88. *Aedilis.* Four magistrates were called by this name; two from the commons, called *ædiles plebis,* who decided less important causes under the inspection of the tribunes; and two from the nobility, called *ædiles curules,* because permitted to use the *sella curulis,* or chair of state. They had the charge of repairing the public edifices and roads; examined and rectified weights and measures, &c.

89. *Detrimento. Fore* is understood not only in this, but in many instances in Cortius's edition, though expressed in other editions.

90. *Omnes copiæ.* All whose property consisted in utensils, or furniture in daily use, or in clothing for their bodies.

91. *Qui.* Here elegantly used for *ut.*

92. *Ne Lentulus,* &c. [That Lentulus, Cethegus, others connected with the conspiracy being arrested should not alarm him. i. e. not to be alarmed at the arrest of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others connected with the conspiracy.]

29 93. *Animos reficeret.* [Might reanimate the spirits.]

94. *Alii rem incredibilem rati,* &c. [*Rati* must be rendered, *because they thought—obnoxii Crasso,* because under obligations to Crassus.—*Conclamant* refers to *alii, pars,* and *plerique,* and signifies, they cried out with one accord.]

95. *Leniunda quam exagitanda.* [To be soothed rather than provoked.]

96. *Uti referatur.* That they should be consulted; that they should be allowed to deliberate on that subject.

97. *In vinculis.* In prison. *Vinculum*, in the singular a chain; in the plural a prison, chains. 29

98. *Potestatem faciundam.* And that he should not be permitted to enjoy freedom hereafter, should not be released. Some understand the words to import, that he should not be permitted to proceed in his testimony; but this appears to be too slight a punishment, for what they conceived to be perjury. [It would not, however, appear too slight a punishment, if we should consider the refusal on the part of the senate to hear the rest of his testimony, as equivalent to a revoking of the pledge of impunity which they had granted him, since in that event, he would again be placed on a footing with the rest of the conspirators, and would be punished along with them.]

99. *Quo facilius*, &c. [In order that, Crassus being named as an accomplice, his power might the more easily protect the rest, by his being made to share the danger with them.]

100. *Immissum.* Instigated.

1. *Prædicantem.* [Openly affirming: *prædicentem* would be *predicting*.]

2. *Q. Catulus.* The *princeps senatus*, or chief of the senate at that time.

3. *C. Piso.* He was consul with Glabrio, and afterwards obtained Gaul for his province, on returning from which, a prosecution had been raised against him for corruption and the unjust punishment of a native of the country north of the Po, as is mentioned in the text. [Cicero undertook his defence, and procured his acquittal. The speech of the orator is lost.]

4. *Pretio.* By money, by bribery.

5. *Potuere.* In some editions *quivere.* They are equivalent.

6. *Repetundarum.* *Oppugnatus in judicio repetundarum*, prosecuted in an action for extortion.

7. *Transpadani.* A person who lived beyond the Po, with reference to Rome.

8. *Ex petitione pontificatus.* [Ever since the time of his application for the high-priesthood.]

9. *Adolescentulo.* Cæsar is here called a stripling, though he was thirty-five or thirty-six years of age, both in comparison with Catulus, who was far advanced in life, and because men were called *juvenes* and *adolescentes*, till they were forty-six, and sometimes till they were fifty years of age. [*Adolescens* properly means, one growing up to maturity; *Juvenis*, a person grown up, or one arrived at maturity. Respecting the precise periods when the terms *puer*, *adolescens*, *juvenis* and *senex* were applied by the Romans, various opinions have been entertained. Some have divided human life into periods of fifteen years each, and give it as their opinion, that till the age of 15, the term *puer* was applied; from 15 to 30, *adolescens*; from 30 to 45, *juvenis*; and after 45, *senex*. This opinion, however, is chiefly conjectural.]

10. *Opportuna.* Plausable, feasible, suitable.

11. *Publice maxumis muneribus.* By the great shows which he had

exhibited publicly, for the entertainment and gratification of the people.

30 12. *Eo.* Some editions have *usque adeo.*

13. *Concordiæ.* *Ædem* being elegantly understood; in some editions it is expressed.

14. *Nobilitate.* Some other editions read *mobilitate*, which, from Sallust's predilection for Cæsar, we might suppose to be the true reading: the meaning would then be, through mere levity, to make a parade of their patriotism.

15. *Cæsari.* [Plutarch gives a similar account, but according to Suetonius, (*Vit. Jul. c.* 14.) it would seem that his life was threatened by the knights in the very senate-house.]

16. *Aguntur.* [Are doing.—*decernuntur*, are decreeing.]

17. *Liberti.* [The Romans used the term *libertus* when they spoke of the master, as *libertus Lentuli*; but *libertinus* in relation to free-born citizens, as *libertinus erat.*]

18. *Duces*, &c. The leaders of the mob. The want of commerce, which the Romans despised, and of course neglected, left the great body of the inhabitants of Rome in a state of poverty and idleness, and ready for any desperate enterprize, to which they might be stimulated by artful demagogues.

19. *Familium.* *Familia* signifies here, and often in other places, the slaves belonging to a family. [This is the original signification of the word. It comes from *famulus*, a servant, and this last from the old Oscan term *famul.*]

20. *Suos.* In some editions *lectos* is found after *suos.*

21. *Grege facto.* Before these words *ut* is elegantly understood; in some editions it is expressed.

22. *Refert quid*, &c. Consults their pleasure with respect to those, &c.

23. *Tunc.* [On that occasion: referring to the previous meeting of the senate, when a decree had been passed that the conspirators had acted as enemies to their country.]

24. *Consul designatus.* [After A. U. C. 598, the consuls were chosen about the end of July or the beginning of August, and entered on their office on the first day of January. During this interval they were styled *Consules designati*, Consuls elect, and were always asked their opinion first in the senate.]

25. *Pedibus iturum.* [A decree of the senate was made by a separation of the senators to different parts of the house. He who presided said, "Let those who are of such an opinion pass over to that side, those who think differently to this. Hence *ire pedibus in sententiam alicujus*, to agree to any one's opinion, since he who had first proposed the opinion, or who had been the principal speaker in favour of it, passed over first, and the rest followed.]

31 26. *Lubidini simul*, &c. Hath obeyed at the same time the dictates of passion and of interest.

27. *Ubi intenderis ingenium*, &c. [*In verum* understood. The whole passage may be translated, or rather paraphrased, as follows: When you apply the mind to the discovery of truth, unbiassed by

the influence of any of these feelings, it succeeds in the search; if passion holds possession, *it* rules, and reason becomes useless.] 31

28. *Atque populi.* In some editions we read *aut qui populi.*

29. *Contra lubidinem animi.* [In opposition to their own feelings.]

30. *Perse.* Perses, or Perseus, son of Philip, and last king of Macedonia, vanquished and led in triumph by Paulus Æmilius.

31. *Rhodiorum.* Rhodes, an island in the Mediterranean, consecrated to the sun, lies over against Caria and Lycia. In this island was the famous Colossus, or statue of Apollo. Rhodes was famous also as a maritime state, and the place where the first code of maritime law was formed. The Rhodians were auxiliaries to the Romans in the war against Antiochus, king of Syria, and at the close of the war received a part of his kingdom as a reward.

32. *Caussa.* This word is omitted in some editions.

33. *Per inducias.* [During the time of truce.]

34. *Per occasionem,* &c. They never retaliated when opportunity offered. [*Nunquam fecere* talia qualia *illi fecerant.*]

35. *In illis.* [In their case.]

36. *Ne plus valeat,* &c. [In order that the crime of Publius Lentulus and the rest, may not have more weight with you, than a regard for your own dignity, and that you may not listen more to the dictates of resentment than to what your own character demands.]

37. *Novum consilium.* Unprecedented measure, viz. of putting citizens to death in defiance of the laws.

38. *Omnium ingenia exsuperat.* [Transcends the imaginations of all.]

39. *Iis.* *Pœnis* being understood.

40 *Composite atque magnifice.* [In studied and glowing terms.]

41. *Casum* The unhappy condition of the state. Some read, improperly, *caussam.*

42. *Quo illa oratio pertinuit?* &c. [What was the object of that strain of oratory? was it to embitter you against the conspiracy? Him whom so great and so atrocious a crime has not moved, a speech no doubt will inflame!—*Scilicet* is uttered ironically.]

43. *Demissi in obscuro.* *Loco* being understood: sunk in obscurity. 32

44. *Ita in maxuma fortuna,* &c. [Thus in the highest elevation there is the least freedom of acting. In such a situation it becomes us neither to shew favour, nor hatred, but least of all resentment; what in others is called hastiness of temper, is in those invested with power styled haughtiness and cruelty.]

45. *Æstumo.* In other editions *existimo.*

46. *Postrema.* [The things last done; the last of an affair; as in the present instance the punishment of the conspirators.]

47. *In hominibus impiis.* With regard to wicked men, or, in the case of wicked men.

48. *Fortem atque strenuum.* [A man of firmness and energy.]

49. *Studio reipublicæ.* In the spirit of patriotism; from affection for the state.

32 50. *Eos mores*, &c. [Such I know to be the principles, such the moderation of the man.]

51. *Aliena a republica.* Uncongenial with the principles of our government.

52. *Injuria.* [The nature of the crime which has been committed.]

53. *Præsenti diligentia.* Used for *præsentia et diligentia.* By the promptitude and diligence.

54. *Ultra.* A preposition taken adverbially; afterwards, i. e. after death. [The doctrine advocated by Cæsar in the text, and which corresponded so intimately with his life and actions, was one unhappily but too prevalent in the ancient world. Cicero makes mention of this opinion of Cæsar's with regard to the soul, in his 4th oration against Catiline.]

55. *Lex Porcia.* [The Porcian law ordained that no one should bind, scourge, or kill a Roman citizen, but that in capital cases the alternative of exile should be granted.]

56. *In exilium.* *Ire* being understood. Some editions omit the preposition *in.*

33 57. *Qui convenit*, &c. [How is it consistent in you to observe the law, &c.]

58. *At enim.* [Equivalent to *αλλα γαρ.* *But.* some one may say, what need is there of all this argument, *for* who will blame? &c.]

59. *Tempus, dies.* [The answer to the preceding question, with *reprehendent* understood. At some future *time*, argues Cæsar, we may see cause to condemn what we are now doing, when critical *conjunctures* arise.]

60. *In alios.* [Litterally, against others; the true meaning of the whole passage, however, appears to be; But do you Conscript Fathers, reflect what influence upon others that which you are now determining may have; i. e. what effect the example you are now setting may have upon others.]

61. *Bonis. Exemplis* understood. In some editions *initiis* follows *bonis;* which seems the preferable reading.]

62. *Indemnatum.* Without a trial.

63. *Ea* Supply *negotia.* In some editions we find *eo.*

64. *Lubidinose.* At their pleasure.

65. *Damasippum.* A follower of Marius's faction, who had been city Prætor; and a cruel oppressor of the opposite party; but otherwise a person of no consequence in the state.

Hæc. In some editions *hoc.*

66. *Atque hæc ego non in M. Tullio*, &c. [I do not, it is true, apprehend these things in Marcus Tullius, nor during the present times, but in a great state there are many and various characters. At another time, under another consul, into whose hand likewise an army may have been consigned, some false suggestion may be credited for truth, and when, by virtue of the example you are now setting, the Consul, by a decree of the senate, shall have drawn the sword of punishment, who shall set a limit to his power, or who restrain him in its exercise?]

34 67. *Samnitibus.* A people of Italy to the North of Campania.

They possessed the greater part of the district now called Abruzzo: that part of it next the Adriatic being inhabited by the Picentes. They maintained a war with the Romans for seventy years. 34

68. *Tuscis.* A people of Italy, inhabiting the country to the north-westward of Rome, on the sea called by their name. The greatest and best part of it is now, or rather was lately, in the possession of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. From these people the Romans borrowed the *fasces*, *Trabea*, *Prætexta*, and other ensigns of office, and emblems of honour.

69. *Animadvertebant.* *Animadvertere aliquem*, to observe one; *in aliquem*, to punish: though Cicero uses *animadvertere aliquid*, *in aliquid*, indiscriminately.

70. *Quo minus.* Elegantly used for *ne.*

71. *Profecto virtus*, &c. [Surely there was greater energy and wisdom in those, &c.]

72. *Bene parta.* Happily or auspiciously obtained, viz. from our ancestors.

73. *Neu quis*, &c. [And that no one for the time to come refer their case to the senate, or treat respecting them with the people.]

74. *Ceteri verbo*, &c. [The rest gave merely a verbal assent, one to one of the speakers, another to another, variously—*Alii*, i. e. *Silano*, *Neroni*, *Cæsari*—When the senators gave merely a verbal assent, to the opinion of any speaker, they retained their seats, and exclaimed *assentior*, adding the name of the person with whom they agreed in opinion as, *assentior Silano; assentior Neroni; assentior Cæsari.*]

75. *M. Porcius Cato.* [Surnamed *Uticensis*, from his death at *Utica*, where he destroyed himself after the battle of Thapsus. He was great grandson of Cato the Censor.]

76. *Alia.* [i. e. *Alia mihi mens est cum res et pericula nostra considero; et alia cum sententias nonnullorum perpendo. Et cum* in this passage of Sallust is for *quam cum.*]

77. *Aris atque focis* *Ara* refers to the altar in the middle of the house, where the Penates were worshipped; and *focus* signifies the hearth in the hall, where the Lares were worshipped. Hence the phrase *aris atque focis* must be considered as a figurative expression, and implies,——against their religion, and dearest rights and privileges.

78. *Quam.* *Magis* being understood. In some other editions it is expressed.

79. *Cetera.* *Crimina*, or, *maleficia* must be understood. In some editions the latter word is expressed, I cannot help thinking with propriety. 35

80. *Persequare.* You may prosecute, or punish.

81. *Judicia.* Justice.

82. *Tabulas.* Pictures; *pictas* being understood.

83. *Amplexamini.* To which ye are fondly attached.

84. *Capessite.* Take care of.

85. *Non agitur de vectigalibus*, &c. [The question is not now re-

35 specting the revenues of our empire, nor of wrongs inflicted upon our allies ; our freedom and our existence are at stake.]

86. *In hoc ordine.* In this house, among this order or rank.

87. *Qui mihi,* &c. I who never gave any indulgence to my own faults, was not easily inclined to pardon the crimes of others, from a desire of gratifying their darling passions. [Cortius considers *mihi atque animo meo* equivalent simply to *meo animo.* The literal version will then be, I who never extended to my own breast indulgence for any fault, &c.—*Condonabam,* literally, I was accustomed to pardon, was in the habit of pardoning.]

88. *Opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat.* [Its resources saved it from the consequences of your neglect.] *Neglegentiam* an archaism for *negligentiam.*

89. *Bonis.* In some editions we find *bonis ne :* the particle *ne* is elegantly omitted.

90. *Sed cujus hæc,* &c. [But whether these things, of whatever kind they may be, are to remain our own, or together with ourselves, are to become the prey of our enemies.] After *modi* in some editions *videntur* is inserted ; but it may with propriety be omitted.

91. *Vocabula.* Names, terms.

92. *Eo,* &c. In so critical a situation is the republic placed.

93. *In furibus ærarii.* [In the case of the pilferers of our treasury.] An uncommon construction. The accusative is more common, *in fures,* towards, &c.

94. *Ne* [for *ne modo :* Let them only not lavish upon these men our blood, &c.]

95. *Diverso itinere.* [In a different quarter.]

36 96. *Videlicet timens.* [Fearing I presume. Strong irony is here expressed, especially in the use of *timens,* since Cæsar himself was more than suspected of being a party to the conspiracy.]

97. *A multitudine conducta.* [By a hired mob.]

98. *Eo magis refert,* &c. [Equivalent to, *refert me mihi, vos vobis timere.* Cato here alludes in pointed terms to Cæsar's supposed connection with the conspirators.]

99. *Quanto vos attentius,* &c. The more vigorously ye shall act.

100. *Armis. Tantum* or *modo* understood, in imitation of the Greeks.

1. *Quæ nobis nulla sunt.* [Which have no existence for us.]

2. *Animus in consulendo liber,* &c. [A spirit unfettered in deliberation, neither swayed by a consciousness of guilt, nor biassed by any ruling propensity.]

3. *Vacuam.* Unprotected : *defensoribus* understood.

4. *Supra caput.* A phrase, which may be imitated in English by expressions alike figurative : At our doors ; has the sword at our throats.

5. *Misereamini censeo.* [Ironical. My advice is that you take pity upon them.]

37 6. *Ne.* An archaism for næ, from the Greek *ναι.* [Yes ! that clemency and compasssion of yours, &c. *Ista* denotes strong contempt.]

7. *Scilicet, res aspera est*, &c. [The emergency is undoubtedly a dangerous one, but you fear it not: nay indeed, you fear it very greatly, but, &c. After *immo vero*, understand *timetis eam.*] In some editions *ipsa* is expressed after *res*. 37

8. *Suppliciis.* Supplications, prayers.

9. *Prospera.* Some editions have *prosperè*, less elegantly.

10. *Cedunt.* [Eventuate, turn out.]

11. *Bello Gallico.* [An historical error on the part of Sallust. The occurrence mentioned in the text took place in a war with the Latins. *vid. Flor.* I. 14. *Liv.* VIII. 7.]

12. *Videlicet vita cetera*, &c. [No doubt the rest of their past lives stands in direct opposition to this crime: well then spare, &c. *Videlicet* again denotes irony.]

13. *Iterum.* After this word *jam* is expressed in some editions. [Cethegus had been a party to the conspiracy of Piso, mentioned in chap. 18 of this work.]

14. *Si quidquam umquam pensi*, &c. [If they had ever exercised the least reflection: if they had not always acted rashly.]

15. *Faucibus urget* [A metaphor taken from a wild beast about to dart upon its prey. We may preserve the figure by rendering it: "Is ready to spring upon us as his prey.]

16. *Neque parari, neque consuli*, &c. [Cato here hints that some of the senators were implicated, and betrayed the deliberations of the senate to the conspirators.]

17. *Manifestis.* Palpably guilty. 38

18. *Laudant.—ferunt*, &c. These verbs in the present tense give a peculiar animation to the style, and place the transactions as it were before the eyes of the reader.

19. *Virtutem animi.* [Firmness, spirit.]

20. *Agitanti.* Reflecting.

21. *Siculi effœta parente.* [The parent being as it were exhausted. The term *parente* refers to Rome. Cortius reads *effoeta parentum*, and considers it equivalent to *effoeta parens inter parentes*, a parent whose strength has departed.' I have followed the Bipont text.]

22. *Ingenti virtute.* [Of distinguished merit, of surpassing abilities.]

23. *Alia alii.* [*Gloria* understood. One kind (viz. of glory) to the one, another to the other.]

24. *Huic severitas*, &c. [To the latter, (Cato), the rigid practice of virtue had imparted additional dignity.]

25. *Dando.—largiundo.* By giving, by liberality.——by largesses, by bestowing favours.

26. *Facilitas.* Complaisance, yielding temper, condescension. 39

27. *In animum induxerat.* [Had formed the resolution.]

28. *Modestiæ.* As opposed to *ambitionis*, must here signify moderation.

29. *Severitatis.* Austerity, the rigid practice of virtue.

30. *Optumum factum.* In other editions *optimum factu.* They amount to the same thing.

39 32. *Triumviros.* *Capitales* being understood. The officers who had the charge of the prison, and of the execution of criminals: sheriffs, gaolers.

32. *Locus—quod,* &c. [The student will observe that the relative here agrees in gender with the following noun. Some Grammarians term this the Greek construction. It is the usual practice of Cicero, but other authors give the relative the gender of the preceding noun. Cicero himself adopts the same practice when the word explained is a foreign one. "*Cohibere motus animi quos Græci παθη vocant:*" still, however, he has the following, "*consensus quam συμπαθειαν Græci vocant.*"]

33. *Tullianum.* [The prison at Rome was originally built by Ancus Martius, and afterwards enlarged by Servius Tullius; whence that part of it under ground, built by him, was called *Tullianum.* The full expression is *Tullianum robur,* from its walls being originally of oak; but in the days of Sallust they were of stone. This dungeon now serves as a subterranean chapel to a small church built on the spot, called *San Pietro in carcere,* in commemoration of St. Peter, who is supposed to have been confined there. Its only entrance, when a dungeon, was through a hole in the arched roof, now, however, there is a door in the side wall.]

34. *Escenderis.* An archaism for *ascenderis.*

35. *Camera.* A chamber, a vault.

36. *Lapideis,* &c. Secured by stone arches.

37. *Incultu.* By not being kept clean, through want of cleanliness. Others will have it for want of inhabitants.

38. *Quibus.* Before this word in other editions are inserted, *vindices rerum capitalium,* the executioners: these, or words equivalent, seem necessary to the sense.

39. *Copia.* Number or force; a signification which *copia* rarely admits in the single number.

40. *Duas legiones instituit.* He formed two legions. [Catiline, formed, if the expression may be allowed, the *skeletons* of two legions. He had not at first a sufficient number of men to form the complement of each legion; still, however, he divided what men he had into twenty cohorts, ten for a legion, and these cohorts he subdivided into maniples and centuries. The cohorts, maniples, and centuries, all wanted at first their regular complement of men, and only obtained it gradually as fresh troops arrived at the camp.]

41. *Numero.* The legion contained different numbers of men at different times, from 3000 to 6000.

40 42. *Sparos.* Spears, or, as some think, darts.

43. *Præacutas sudes.* Staves, stakes or poles pointed at the end.

44. *Versus.* Taken adverbially.

45. *Sese habiturum.* *Occasionem pugnandi* being understood. Some editions have *magnas copias habiturum.*

46. *Cujus.* *Generis* being understood; or *cujus servitii,* singular relatives being sometimes referred to collective antecedents in the plural.

47. *Alienum suis rationibus.* Inconsistent with his views.

48. *Pistoriensem.* [*Pistorium* was a town of Etruria, now Tuscany,

about 20 Italian miles north-west of Florentia now Florence, on the 40
Stella, which falls into the Ombrone, a northern branch of the Arnus, now Arno. Near it the battle was fought between the forces of the republic and the army of Catiline. It is now Pistoia.]

49. *Perfugerent.* Some editions have *perfugeret.*

50. *Galliam.* [Cisalpine, not Transalpine Gaul, is here meant.]

51. *Ex difficultate rerum eadem illa,* &c. [Imagining that Catiline, in consequence of the adverse situation of his affairs, was meditating those very plans of which we have made mention above, i. e. was meditating his escape into Gaul.]

52. *Sub ipsis radicibus.* At the very foot.

53. *Utpote qui.* Inasmuch as he.

54. *Locis æquioribus expeditus.* [A great deal of doubt attaches itself to this reading, which is the one adopted by Cortius. It may be rendered as follows, encountering fewer obstacles to his progress along a more level country; fewer obstacles, viz. than Catiline did in his passage across the mountains. Some editions place a comma after *æquioribus*, and another after *expeditus*, which then may signify disencumbered of baggage.]

55. *Præsidii.* Relief, succour.

56. *Verba.* Some editions have *viris* after *verba.* 41

57. *Moribus.* [By habit.]

58. *Quo in loco.* [In what a situation.]

59. *Unus ab urbe,* &c. [One on the side of the city, the other on the side of Gaul.]

60. *Si maxume animus,* &c. Even if we be very greatly inclined, or, however much we may be inclined.

61. *Illis supervacaneum est.* [They lie under no obligation to fight, &c. No necessity urges them.]

62. *Quo audacius,* &c. Wherefore attack more boldly. *Adgredimini,* an archaism for *aggredimini,* in the imperative mood.

63. *Viris.* To men of spirit.

64. *Relinquere.* *Hæc* being understood. In other editions it is expressed.

65. *Cum.* In some editions we find *tum* to connect *avertere* with *sperare.*

66. *Quis.* Contracted for *quibus;* frequent in this author.

67. *Averteris.* The perfect of the subjunctive. In other editions 42
avertere in the infinitive.

68. *Qui maxume timent.* [The antecedent *illis* is elegantly understood.]

69. *Inulti.* *Ne* being elegantly understood.

70. *Instructos ordines.* His troops as they were arranged.

71. *Pedes* On foot: a substantive in the nominative case singular; a footman.

72. *Pro loco atque copiis.* As the situation of the ground required, and as the number of his troops admitted.

73. *Nam uti planities erat,* &c. [For as the plain was situate between mountains on the left, and as there was on the right a craggy rock, &c. If we read *rupe,* it has *existente* understood, and is

42 the ablative absolute; if we read *rupes*, it is the nominative to *erat* understood. The meaning is the same, however, in either case.]

74. *Reliqua signa*, &c. The rest of his forces he stations in closer order as a body of reserve.

75. *Ab his centuriones, &c.* [*Ab his* and *lectos* must be construed together. The centurions, the *evocati*, and the best armed of the common soldiers, were separated by Catiline from the reserve, and brought into the front line.]

76. *Evocatos*. Veteran soldiers, who had served out their time, and had been prevailed upon to follow the standard of a commander whom they approved, were called *evocati*. They were exempted from the drudgery of the military service.

77. *Adsistit*. in some other editions *consistit*. [By *coloni* are meant Sylla's veterans.]

78. *Cimbrico*. The Cimbri, a German nation, had, in conjunction with the Teutones, invaded the Roman empire, and were vanquished by Marius.

79. *Pedibus æger*. [Antonius, according to Dio Cassius, feigned illness on the day of the battle, fearful of encountering the reproaches of Catiline in case he should meet him in the fight.]

80. *Tumulti*. [A war in Italy, or against the Gauls was called *Tumultus*, a much stronger term than *bellum*.]

81. *Inermos*. *Inermus* and *inermis* are indiscriminately used.

82. *Cernere*. Used here for *decernere*, the simple for the compound. In some editions we find *certare*, which is equivalent.

83. *Tribunus*. A tribune, a military officer nearly corresponding to a colonel. In each legion there were six military tribunes who commanded under the consul.

84. *Præfectus*. [When the term stands alone, as in the present instance, it denotes a commander of the allies. The *præfecti* among the allies were of the same rank with the *tribuni* among the Roman forces. The officers of the allies were for the most part Romans, chosen by the consul, or senate.]

43 85. *Ferentariis*. [The light-armed troops, besides other appellations, were also called *Ferentarii*, because they carried what they threw.]

86. *Cum*. This preposition designates the style and manner of Sallust, though it is here unnecessary.

87. *Arcessere*. In some other editions *accersere*, which is less proper. [*Accersere* is a mere corruption from *arcessere*, and ought never to be used.]

89. *Cohortem prætoriam*. [Among the Romans, the general was usually attended by a select band, called *Cohors Prætoria*. It was first instituted by Scipo Africanus, according to Festus, but something similar was used long before that time, as appears from Livy, II, 20.]

89. *In confertissumos hostes*, &c. He rushes into the thickest of the enemy.

90. *Pugnando*. In other editions *vivus pugnando*. *Vivus* seems unnecessary to the sense.

91. *Quos*. In some editions *quos medios*.

92. *Volneribus.* An archaism for *vulneribus;* so *voltu* for *vultu.* 43
Adversis vulneribus, with wounds in front.

93. *Civis ingenuus.* *Ingenuus* denotes a person born of parents who had always been free.

94. *Juxta.* Taken adverbially, and used for *pariter,* [i. e. so 44
ittle had they all spared, &c.]

95. *Lætitia, mæror,* &c. [*Lætitia* properly denotes a transport of joy, or joy expressed strongly by the actions of the individual. *Gaudium,* on the contrary, denotes the calm and rational emotion of joy. Cicero ranks *Lætitia* among the "*perturbationes animi,*" or "*appetitus vehementiones.*" (*vid. Tusc. Quæst.* 4.) and observes, that *lætitia* occasions "*profusam hilaritatem,*" extravagant gaiety, intemperate gladness or mirth. The same writer furnishes us likewise with the following distinctions between an opposite class of words: "*Ægritudini subjiciuntur angor, mæror, dolor, luctus, ærumna afflictatio.* Angor *est ægritudo premens,* Mæror *ægritudo flebilis,* Ærumna *ægritudo laboriosa,* Dolor *ægritudo crucians,* Afflictatio *ægritudo cum vexatione corporis, Luctus ægritudo ex ejus, qui carus fuit, interitu. Tusc. Quæst.* 4.—The passage of Sallust, therefore, to which this note refers, may, in accordance with the above, be rendered: joy, grief, sorrow, and gladness prevailed, &c.]

NOTES

TO THE

JUGURTHINE WAR.

47 1. *Imbecilla.* Agreeing with *natura*, which appears preferable to *imbecille* found in some editions, and agreeing with *genus*. *Imbecillus, a, um*, or *imbecillis—e*, are used indiscriminately in authors.

2. *Forte potius quam*, &c. [It is influenced more by chance than by the exertion of intellect.]

3. *Quam vim*, &c. [Than ability or duration, i. e. than additional power, or an enlarged period of existence.]

4. *Pollens potensque*, &c. [Powerful and vigorous. According to Cortius, *pollens* refers to innate strength, *potens* to its exercise.]

5. *Quippe probitatem*, &c. [Since it (i. e. fortune) can neither give nor take away, integrity, industry, other praiseworthy qualities: *industria* in this passage might also be rendered, the active exercise of our abilities.]

6. *Sin captus*, &c. [But if, ensnared by vicious desires, it has been consigned to the destructive bondage of sloth and corporeal gratifications, &c. Cortius considers *pessum* to be the supine of the old verb *petior*, I am forced downward, I am trampled upon; Scheller, on the contrary, makes it a noun, equivalent in meaning to *fundum*, the bottom; thus, *pessum ire*, to go to the bottom, to be destroyed or ruined: so in Plautus, *Rud.* II. 3. 64. *Nunc eam cum navi scilicet abivisse pessum in altum*, i. e. to have gone to the deep bottom, to have sunk to the bottom; and in Tacitus, *pessum ituros campos*, that the fields would be ruined. I have endeavoured in my translation of the phrase to which this note refers, to unite these two explanations, which, in fact, differ but little, if at all, from each other, since every supine is a verbal noun.]

7. *Perniciosa lubidine usus*, &c. [The nominative absolute, instead of, *Ubi, postquam perniciosa lubine paullisper usus est, per secordiam vires*, &c.]

8. *Suam quisque culpam*, &c. [The authors of these evils, transfer each to affairs the blame which is their own, i. e. they allege as an excuse for their sloth, that the affairs to which they had directed their attention proved too difficult to be accomplished by them.]

9. *Quod si*, &c. [But if mankind were inspired with as great a regard for things conducive to their welfare, as is the zeal with which they seek after, &c.]

10. *Ubi.* [Equivalent to, *in quo collocati*, or to our phrase, in which—*Pro mortalibus*, instead of mortals, or, from mortals.]

11. *Præclara facies.* A fine face. 48
12. *Ingenii egregia facinora.* [The splendid exertions of intellect.]
13. *Postremo corporis,* &c. [In fine, there is an end as there is a beginning, of the advantages of person and fortune.]
14. *Æternus.* Some of the ancient philosophers, particularly the Stoics, held the soul to be eternal.
15. *Agit atque habet.* Controuls and governs.
16. *Incultu.* Through want of cultivation, or exercise.
17. *Artes animi.* [Mental employments.]
18. *Ex his.* [i. e. *Variis artibus animi.*]
19. *Omnis cura rerum publicarum.* [All charge of public affairs: every office of administration.]
20. *Quibus per fraudem jus fuit.* [Who have obtained authority by fraudulent means, i. e. by bribery or force.]
21. *Parentes.* From *pareo*: subjects; [subjected states, or conquered provinces.]
22. *Delicta corrigas.* [May rectify abuses.]
23. *Omnes rerum mutationes.* [All innovations in the state.]
24. *Fatigando.* In other editions *se fatigando.*
25. *Gratificari.* To give up, to sacrifice, to offer up. [A more usual form is *gratificandi.*]
26. *Quæ ingenio exercentur.* [Which form the exercise of the mind. Literally, which are exercised upon by the mind.]
27. *Memoria rerum gestarum.* A periphrastical expression for history.
28. *Virtute.* Excellence.
29. *Per insolentiam.* Through feelings of vanity.
30. *Studium.* Employment, profession.
31. *Certe.* An elliptical expression. *Ii certe imponent,* &c. *quibus,* &c.
32. *Salutare plebem.* It was usual with candidates for office 49
among the Romans to address every voter by his proper name, and familiarly to shake hands with him. [On these occasions they commonly had along with them a monitor, or *Nomenclator,* who whispered in their ears every body's name.]
33. *Temporibus.* In times of public confusion. [Sallust was made Tribune of the commons, at the age of 32, A. U. 701. According to some, Cato was his competitor at that election, but according to others, when he was made prætor, A. U. 707. To his success over Cato, he alludes in the expression *quales viri,* &c. If this competition occured for the office of prætor, he had no great reason to be proud of his success, since he obtained that office entirely through the interest of Cæsar.]
34. *Merito.* Justly, with good reason.
35. *Q. Maxumum.* Quintus Fabius Maximus, the famous opponent of Annibal.
P. Scipionem. Publius Scipio Africanus the younger, the son of Paulus Æmilius, but adopted into the family of Scipio.
37. *Imagines.* [Among the Romans, those whose ancestors, or themselves had born any curule office, that is, had been consul, præ-

49 tor, censor, or Curule Ædile, were called *Nobiles*, and had the right of making images of themselves, which were kept with great care by their posterity, and carried before them at funerals. These images were nothing more than the busts or the effigies of the persons down to the shoulders, made of wax and painted. These they used to place in the courts of their houses, inclosed in wooden cases, and seem not to have brought them out except on important occasions.]

38. *Scilicet non ceram illam*, &c. [We may well suppose that neither the mere wax of which they were made, nor the form it had assumed, possessed such power, &c. *Scilicet* must be here resolved into its component members, *scire licet*, and hence the grammatical construction of the sentence, *scire licet habere,—crescere,—sedari.*]

39. *Eorum*, [i. e. *Majorum.*]

40. *His moribus*. For *moribus hujus temporis*. During the prevalence of these manners.

41. *Novi*. New men: men who were the first of their family that had obtained any curule office.

42. *Per latrocinia*. By undue means, by unfair practices. [*Furtim*, by private intrigue, by clandestine contrivances.]

43. *Perinde habeantur, ut*, &c. *Ac* is more commonly used in this sense after *perinde*. And should not be estimated by the virtue and abilities of those who hold them. [*Perinde—ut*, literally, even so—as.]

44. *Liberius*, &c. Too freely, and too far. The comparative is often used in this signification.

45. *Redeo*. The compound verb used for the simple *eo*, which must be here taken for *venio*; *eo* and *venio* being often used for each other. [According to Donatus the particle *re* is sometimes redundant in composition. He cites as an instance of very frequent occurrence, *renuntio*, for the simple *nuntio.*]

46. *Numidarum*. [*Numidia*, now Algiers, a country of Africa, was bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the west by the *Ampsaga*, now Wad-el-kibir (i. e. the *Great River*,) which separated it from *Mauritania*, now Morocco and Fez; on the south by *Gætulia*, now Biledulgerid, and on the east by the *Mulucha*, now the Mulva, the boundary between *Numidia*, and *Africa Propria*, or Tunis.]

47. *Varia—victoria*. The success various; sometimes in favour of the Romans, sometimes of Jugurtha.

48. *Divina et humana*. [Civil and religious.]

49. *Civilibus studiis*. Civil dissensions.

50 50. *Pauca supra repetam*. [I will take a brief review.]

51. *Quo ad cognoscendum*, &c. [In order that all things may be clearer, and placed in a more distinct point of view, for the purpose of being understood. The gerund is here used in a passive sense, according to the grammarians, of which construction but few instances occur in the ancient writers. *vid. Sanctii Min.* III. 8. p. 454. with the note of Perizonius. In fact, however, the gerund may always be considered as active in its meaning: thus in the present instance, *ad cognoscendum*, may be rendered, for the knowing of them,

for the understanding of them. See notes to the 62d chapter of Jugurtha.] 50

52. *Post magnitudinem nominis*, &c. For, *postquam nomen Romanum magnum est factum*. Since the Roman name became great.

53. *In amicitia*. More commonly *in amicitiam*, in the sense in which it is here taken, and as it is found in other editions.

54. *Syphace*. Syphax was king of the Masæsyli. Their capital was Cirta. [*Syphax* is said to make the penult of the genitive common. The short quantity, however, occurs only in Claudian, 15, 91, where Barthius conjectured the reading should be *Annibalem*, which the sense requires; and Gesner approves of the emendation in his edition of 1759.]

55. *Regi*. viz. Masinissa.

56. *Imperii*, &c. An ambiguous construction: meaning here, that his empire in its full extent continued only during his life; the grant of the Romans ceasing at his death.

57. *Absumtis*. An archaism for *absumptis*.

58. *Cultu*, &c. He brought him up in the same manner, and gave him the same education, as his own children.

59. *Luxu*. The old dative for *luxui*; or it may be considered as an ablative after *corrumpendum* and then there will be a variety of construction in the same sentence, which is not unusual with Sallust: Thus, in Cataline's conspiracy, chap. 25, *docta literis—multa alia*. [*Corrumpendum*, to be corrupted; the gerund used in a passive sense: or, (which is preferable) it may retain its active meaning, and be rendered, for corrupting.]

60. *Cum*. Although.

61. *Primus ferire*. [He was the first to strike: but *primum ferire*, he struck first. So *primus fecit*, he was the first who did it, (*primus erat qui fecit*, would not be correct in this sense, but would signify, he who did it was the first;) *primum fecit*, he did it first.]

62. *Exacta sua ætate*, &c. [His own age being far advanced, his children small.]

63. *Crescere magis magisqae*. [Increased more and more in reputation, rose daily in reputation.]

64. *Imperii*. Power.

65. *Præceps ad explendam*, &c. [Hurried on headlong to the gratification of their ruling passion.]

66. *Præterea opportunitas*, &c. [Besides, the favourable opportunity afforded by his own and the age of his children, a circumstance which leads even moderate men astray by the hope of enriching themselves: *transvorsos*, scil. *a recta justitiæ probitatisque via*.]

67. *Popularibus*. For *populo*: beloved by the people.

68. *Numantino*. Numantia was a city of Hispania Tarraconensis, which maintained a war with the Romans for fourteen, some say for twenty years. The rubbish of it is still to be seen at a place called Puente Garay, near the city Soria, in old Castile. [Numantia was finally reduced by Scipio Africanus Minor, after the destruction of Carthage,] 51

69. *Ostentando*. In displaying.

70. *Sævitia*. By the furious bravery.

51 71. *Impigri atque acri ingenio.* [Of a quick and penetrating turn of mind.]

72. *Morem hostium.* [The mode of fighting practised by the enemy; the manœuvres of the enemy.]

73. *Adferre.* To generate, to produce.

74. *Res asperas.* [Difficult enterprises.]

75. *Magis magisque,* &c. [He became more and more attached to him every day.]

76. *Ingenii sollertia.* [A shrewdness of intellect.]

77. *Potiores.* By whom riches were preferred to virtue and honour.

78. *Apud socios clari magis,* &c. [Men rather of note among our allies, than really possessed of integrity.]

79. *Non mediocrem.* The ambitious.

52 80. *Revorti.* An archaism for *reverti.*

81. *Prætorium.* The general's tent.

82. *Publice,* &c. That he should cultivate the friendship of the Roman people in their public capacity, rather than that of individuals.

83. *Quibus.* For *quibusvis,* as the word is frequently used.

84. *Artibus.* In his own practices; in the exercise of those virtues and talents which he possessed.

85. *Ultro.* Without any pains or trouble to him.

86. *Properantius.* Too hastily.

87. *Pro nostra amicitia.* In consideration of our mutual friendship.

88. *Igitur rex ubi,* &c. [The king, therefore, when he learned from the general's letter, that the things which he had heard from rumour, were true. *Ita esse* for *ita esse uti acceperat,* were so as he had heard them.]

89. *Cum virtute viri,* &c. [Strongly influenced both by the merit of the man, and his popularity, (with the Romans namely.)]

90. *Cum Jugurtha.* [The presence of the preposition in this passage, marks the familiar nature of the address to Jugurtha, which approached in fact to a conversation.]

91. *In meum regnum.* [Into my kingdom, i. e. as one of my future heirs. In this assertion of Masinissa there was evidently no truth, and Jugurtha, as appears from the beginning of the next chapter, viewed it in this light.]

92. *Liberis.* This word is omitted in some editions, and does not seem necessary.

93. *Falsum,* &c. Nor was I disappointed. *Falsum habere, infestum, frustra habere,* are circumlocutions for *fallere, infestare, frustrare.* [*Falsum* me *habuit.*]

94. *Tua.* *Facinora* understood.

53 95. *Per regni fidem.* [By the fidelity you owe my kingdom: i. e. the fidelity due by you in consequence of your being adopted into the kingdom.]

96. *Non exercitus,* &c. [This beautiful idea is borrowed from the dying speech of Cyrus in Xenophon, Cyrop. VIII. 7. 14.]

97. *Officio et fide pariuntur.* [They are obtained by kind offices and by the exercise of fidelity.] 53

98. *Quis autem amicior.* [*Debet esse* understood.]

99. *Dilabuntur.* [Fall gradually to ruin.]

100. *Sumsisse.* To have adopted. *Sumsisse*, an archaism for *sumpsisse*.

1. *Ficta locutum.* That the king spoke insincerely.

2. *Diebus.* In some editions we read *paucis post diebus.*

3. *Justa.* Funeral rites. An ellipsis, for, *quæ regi erant justa.* [It is much simpler to understand merely *funera.* We have it expressed in Cæsar, B. G. 6. 4. *Justis funeribus confectis.*]

4. *Reguli.* The princes, Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha.

5. *Dextra Adherbalem adsedit.* [Sat down on the right hand of Adherbal. *Adsedit Adherbalem a dextra manu.* The accusative *Adherbalem* is governed by the preposition *ad* in composition.]

6. *Apud.* In some editions we have *et apud*, which would imply that the middle place was the most honourable also among the Romans.

7. *Fatigatus a fatre.* [Overcome, or wearied out, with the solicitations of his brother.] 54

8. *Jacit.* [Throws out the remark.]

9. *Ipsum illum.* [scil. *Jugurtham.*]

10. *Altius descendit.* Sank more deeply.

11. *Ira et metu anxius*, &c. [Distracted by anger and fear, he plotted, he contrived, &c.]

12. *Tardius.* [Too slowly ; i. e. *tardius quam voluerat.*]

13. *Propter dissensionem.* [To prevent disputes.]

14. *Reguli interea*, &c. [The princes in the mean time retired to places in the vicinity of the treasures, one to one, another to another.]

15. *Proxumus lictor.* Principal or chief lictor : [The lictors went before those whom they attended, one by one in a line. He who went foremost was called *Primus lictor*, he who went last, or before the magistrate or individual, was called *Proxumus lictor*, and used to receive and execute the commands of the magistrate.]

16. *Uti.* In some editions *impellitque* is inserted before *uti*, and seems necessary to the sense.

17. *Clavis adulterinas.* False keys.

18. *Diversi.* In different directions.

19. *Strepitu et tumultu.* [With uproar and confusion.]

20. *Mulieris ancillæ.* [Of a maid-servant. *Ancilla*, strictly speaking, is an adjective, and is so used by the old writers, whom Sallust here imitates, not, however, by those of a later age.]

21. *Partis.* After which *Numidæ* is found in some editions. 55

22. *Illum alterum.* The other. *Ille* is here used for the definite article, which the Latin language does not possess.

23. *Provinciam.* [The Province ; i. e. the territory of Carthage, which the Romans, after the death of Masinissa, on whom they had bestowed it for the period of his life, had formed into a province.]

24. *Jugurtha.* In some editions, *postquam omni Numidia potiebatur* follows *Jugurtha.*

55 25. *Mittit. Legatos* understood. In some editions it is expressed.

26. *Quæcumque.* In some editions *quemcumque,* which appears preferable.

27. *Magna. Munera* is understood, though perhaps better expressed, as it is in some editions.

28. *Invidia,* &c. From the greatest odium, or unpopularity, Jugurtha came into the good graces and favour of the nobility.

29. *Quorum.* Refers to *nobilium* understood.

30. *Ne gravius in eum consuleretur.* [That too severe a resolution should not be passed against him.]

31. *Procuratione.* [In the administration of it.] In some editions *regni procurationem:* the administration of the kingdom.

32. *Jus et imperium.* The right and government, or the right of government; two words connected together by a conjunction being often used, where the sense requires the latter to be put in the genitive case.

56 33. *Cognatorum.* [Of kindred—*Adfinium,* of relations.]

34. *Habere.* It would appear more proper to read *me habiturum,* or simply *habiturum,* as in some editions, in order to comport with *fecissem.* [*Habere* is here put for *habiturum esse,* and should not be altered. The best writers sometimes use the present for the future, when they refer to what will *certainly* take place.]

35. *Et jam.* In some editions *utique.*

36. *Populo.* In some editions *Populi.*

37. *Mihi.* After this word we find *beneficia* in some editions.

38. *Secundum ea.* [Next to this. *Secundum ea* is opposed to *maxume.* Some editions separate *secundum* and *ea* by a comma, and then *secundum* will signify in the second place, and *ea* be joined in construction with *desideranda essent.*]

39. *Neque mihi in manu,* &c. [Nor was it in my power to effect what kind of person should be, i. e. nor was it in my power to form the character of Jugurtha. Before *qualis foret, efficere* may be understood, although it is not necessary, since the clause *qualis foret Jugurtha* may be regarded at once as the nominative to *fuit.*]

40. *Quo tempore,* &c. [This refers to the Romans, who were at that time engaged in an important and difficult war with the Carthaginians, and might be faithful, but could not, when their resources were thus preoccupied, prove very efficient allies.]

41. *Deformatus ærumnis.* [Fallen and miserable.]

42. *Neque.—cresceret. Ut* being understood: or rather *neque* is put for *et ne.* In other editions we read *neque pati—crescere.*

43. *Vos in mea,* &c. [You are treated with contempt in the injustice which is done me.]

57 44. *Nunquamne.* [In pronouncing *nunquamne* and *semperne,* the stress of the voice must be laid on the penultimate syllable, *ne* being here an enclitic.]

45. *Incolumes.* [Safe, viz. from the Romans, i. e. powerful.]

46. *Jure.* [scil. *necessitatis,* vel. *belli.*]

47. *Pestis.* Referring to the Carthaginians. In some editions 57
ex Africa is expressed after *pestis.*

48. *Sese ecferens.* [Used for *insurgens.*] *Ecferens,* an archaism for *efferens.*

49. *Nihil minus quam.* [Nothing so little as.]

50. *In imperio vestro.* [In a country subjected to your authority.]

51. *Extorrem patria,* &c. [An imitation of the Greek idiom, for *effecit uti ego nihil minus quam vim aut bellum* expectans, *in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis,* extorris *patria domo,* inops *et* coopertus *miseriis* (essem, et) *ubivis tutius quam in regno meo essem.*]

52. *Amicitiam.* In some editions *diligenter* follows *amicitiam.*

53. *Quod in familia nostra fuit,* &c. [What was in the power of our family, it did, that it might aid you namely in all your wars. Our idiom would require the perfect indic. It aided, &c.] *Ad ssent* in this passage ought rather to be *adesset,* to accord with *præstitit,* as in some other editions.

54. *Alterius.* In some editions *alter.*

55. *Generis præsidia,* &c. All the supports of our family are cut off.

56. *Naturæ concessit.* A figurative expression for *mortuus est.* [We have an equivalent one in English : hath paid the debt of nature. The Latin idiom, however, implies a yielding to the universal law of nature.]

57. *Quem minume decuit.* [Referring to *propinquus,* not to *fratri.*]

58. *Capti, acti,* &c. Agreeing in gender not with *pars,* but with *adfines, amici,* &c. to which *pars* itself refers.

59. *Necessariis.* [Friendly. *Necessaria* are here opposed to *adversa,* and denote those acts of kindness and affection which we are necessarily led to expect from those who are connected with us by the ties of consanguinity ; whence the term *necessitudo* is used for relationship, or any intimate connection. Adherbal expected from Jugurtha the kindness and affection of a brother, but met only with acts of hostility.]

60. *Ex improviso.* After this word, *mali* is used in some edi- 58
tions.

61. *Honestarum.* [Becoming, suited to my rank in life, which my station demands.]

62. *Quo.* In some editions *quos.* [*Nationesne* must be pronounced with the stress of the voice on the penult. See page 57, note 44.]

63. *Ob vestram amicitiam.* [On account of your friendship towards us ; our alliance with you.]

64. *Majorum hostilia monumenta.* [Monuments, or, memorials of the hostilities committed by my ancestors. He refers here to the hostilities committed by them against the neighbouring nations, in furtherance of the Roman power.]

65. *Aut.* In some editions *an.*

66. *Una nobis occidendum esse.* [That we must fall along with it.]

67. *Secunda et obedientia.* Prosperous and obedient.

58 68. *Vereor ne*, &c. [After the verbs *metuo*, *timeo*, *vereor*, *ne* is used when the following word expresses a result contrary to our wish, *ut* when it is agreeable to it—*Quos* is used in this passage for *aliquos*.—*parum cognita* little known by those who rely upon it.]

69. *Fingere me verba.* That I invent stories: that my complaints are fictitious.

70. *Quod utinam.* But I wish: but would.

71. *Ne ille—reddet.* *Ne* is here used for *næ*; and this sentence may then be considered as a sort of prophetical denunciation, which was fulfilled by the final imprisonment, and miserable death of Jugurtha. Some editions have *ut ille—reddat.* [*Sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus.* Emboldened by and glorying in his crimes.]

72. *Non enim.* *Tantum*, or *tantummodo* being understood. *Non*, when followed by the adversative conjunction *sed*, is used in this manner, *tantum* being understood, in imitation of the Greeks, by whom μη opposed to ἀλλα is frequently so used, μονον being understood.

73. *Ex.* In some editions, *ex* is preceded by *pulsus*, which, however, is not necessary to the sense.

59 74. *An regno consulam.* [Or consult for the welfare of my kingdom, i. e. make peace with Jugurtha, and so save my subjects from the horrors of war.]

75. *Cujus vitæ necisque potestas*, &c. [Whose own life and death depend entirely upon the resources of others; or, when whether I live or die, depends entirely upon the aid I am soliciting from the resources of others.]

76. *Emori.* [Taken substantively, a speedy death.]

77. *Neu vivere contemtus viderer.* [Cortius makes this equivalent to *aut tamen non contemtus viverem*, or that I might not live an object of contempt: some editions read *jure* for *vivere*, which is far preferable.]

78. *Neque.* Some editions read *neque quoniam*, and the sentence is only completed at the close of Adherbal's speech.

79. *Liberos.* This word is preceded by *per* in some editions, and this repetition seems to add a degree of elegance to the expression.

80. *Depravati.* Referring to *senatores*, and not to *pars*; a mode of construction usual with Sallust. Other editions have *depravate.*

81. *Gratia, voce.* [By influence, by speaking.]

82. *Carius.* Agreeing with *æquum*, the last of the preceding substantives.

83. *Subveniundum.* An archaism for *subveniendum.*

84. *Æmilius Scaurus.* [According to Sallust, this nobleman tarnished the lustre of his splendid talents by avarice and other degrading passions, while Cicero, on the contrary, speaks of him in the highest terms, in various part of his writings. Sallust's known dislike to the nobility may account for this discrepancy in some degree. Scaurus wrote three books recording the principal occurrences and transactions of his own life, which Cicero commends, and considers equal to Xenophon's life of Cyrus. To this work Juvenal alludes, Sat. II 35.]

85. *Famosam impudentemque.* [Bare-faced and shameless.] 59
86. *Polluta licentia.* [Gross corruption.—*invidiam accenderet*, should kindle popular indignation.]
87. *Qui.* Referring to *senatorum* understood. Some other edi- 60
tions have *quæ* agreeing with *pars*.
88. *Caio Graccho.* Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, A. U. 620, got a law passed, called an Agrarian law, prohibiting any person from possessing more than 350 acres of land; and for distributing the surplus among the poorer citizens. This law produced much dissension and confusion, was never executed, and cost the proposer his life. C. Gracchus, supported by his colleague, M. Fulvius Flaccus, pursued the footsteps of his brother Tiberius. Both of them suffered a violent death. [The opinion which has till of late years universally prevailed, and which is maintained also in the above note, that the Agrarian laws had for their object to enforce an equality of estates, and to prevent any individual from owning more than about 350 acres of land, is now completely exploded. We are indebted for a more correct view of the subject to the learning and ingenuity of M. Niehbuhr, who has laid down the true doctrine in his Roman History. "These laws concerned not landed estates, but public lands, commons, domains. They limited not the quantity of land which the Roman citizen had a right to own and to cultivate, but the portion of the *public lands* which he had a right to take on lease from the state. The Roman Patrician was as free to buy of any one who would sell, as the English or American citizen; but the arrogance of the nobles and the jealousy of the tribunes led to a series of laws limiting the quantity of the public domains, which any one might occupy or lease, to about 350 acres." North American Review, New Series. Number 39. (Niehbuhr's Roman History.) See also Quarterly Review, Number 63.]
89. *Victoriam.* [The number of slain on the part of the commons, amounted, according to Plutarch, to no less than three thousand.]
90. *Adcuratissume.* Very respectfully, very ceremoniously, [with the most studied respect.]
91. *Famæ, fide.* Some consider these as datives for *famai*, *fidei*; but though genitives in *ai* are not unfrequent, the dative of this form is very rare. Others think *famæ, fide* are ablatives, and produce a similar construction in Cicero's oration for Balbus: *libertatem civitate anteferrent.* Others read *famæ et fide*: datives in *e* having been common among the ancients. [It is better to consider these as ablatives, used for datives. In addition to the passage of Cicero cited above, we have another of a similar nature in Tacitus, *Annal* III. 19. *Is finis fuit ulciscenda Germanici morte.* The ablative *morte* is here used for the dative *morti*.]
92. *Mauretaniam.* [*Mauretania*, now the empire of Fez and Morocco, was bounded on the north by the straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean, on the east by *Numidia*, on the south by *Gætulia*, and on the west by the Atlantic. In the time of Bocchus, the ally and betrayer of Jugurtha, it was bounded by the river *Mulucha* or

60 *Molochath*, now Malva, and corresponded nearly to the present kingdom of Fez, but in the time of the emperor Claudius, the west part of Numidia, which had been given to Bocchus as a reward for his treachery, was added to this province, under the name of *Mauretania Cæsariensis*, the ancient kingdom of Mauretania being called *Tingitana*, from its principal city *Tingis*, now Old Tangier, on the west of the Straits of Gibraltar.]

93. *Minus frequentata sunt.* [Have been less visited.]

94. *Haud facile*, &c. I cannot easily speak with certainty.

95. *In partem tertiam Africam posuere.* [Have reckoned Africa as a third part.] Some editions have *in parte*.

96. *Pauci*, &c. This phraseology is ambiguous. The meaning is *pauci duas esse partes voluerunt, scil. Asiam et Europam*, &c. They divided the earth into two parts, Asia and Europe, and comprehended Africa in Europe. [Varro, L. L. IV. is one of those who make but two divisions of the ancient world.]

97. *Fretum*, &c. By *fretum* here must be meant the *fretum Gaditanum* or *Herculeum*, the straits of Gibraltar. By *nostri maris* is to be understood the Mediterranean sea, to which the Romans claimed a right, as being almost enclosed by their dominions. By *oceani* is meant the Atlantic ocean. *Fretum maris*, &c. the strait between our sea and the ocean. Sallust's geography will not bear a critical examination.

98. *Declivem latitudinem——Catabathmon.* A wide or large tract or valley sloping towards Egypt; hence called *Catabathmos*, a Greek word signifying descent This description does not accord with the present boundaries of Africa, which reaches to the Red Sea, and includes Egypt. [Catabathmos separated *Marmarica* from *Cyrenaica*, on the west, and is now called Accabet-Ossolour.]

99. *Mare sævum.* The adjacent sea is boisterous, without harbours.

100. *Cœlo, terra, penuria aquam* [From the skies, from the earth, a scarcity of water; i. e. rain seldom falls, and the rivers and springs are few in number.]

1. *Bestiis* In some editions *a bestiis*: the reading in the text is preferable.

2. *Malefici generis.* [Of the hurtful kind.] Serpents, tigers, lions, hyænas, &c.

61 3. *Quanquam ab ea fama*, &c. [Although it is different from that opinion which prevails among most, &c.——*utique rem sese habere*, &c. and as the inhabitants think the fact to be—— *Ceterum fides ejus rei*, &c. But the truth of that narrative shall rest with the authors, i. e. the authors shall be responsible for the truth of that account; I will not vouch for its correctness.]

4 *Gætuli.* [*Gætulia* was an extensive country of Africa, lying to the south of *Mauretania* and *Numidia*. It formed part of the kingdom of Masinissa, and is thought to correspond in some degree with modern Biledulgerid.]

5. *Libyes.* [Libya was a country of Africa, to the west of Egypt,

corresponding to Barca, part of Tripoli, and of the desert of Zaha- 61
ra. Its boundaries are not exactly defined by ancient geographers. In the writings of the Greeks Λιβυη most commonly denotes the whole of Africa, except Egypt.]

6. *Hi neque moribus*, &c. [These were neither governed by customs, nor by law, nor by the authority of any individual.]

7. *Qua*. In some editions *quas*, referring to *sedes*.

8. *Hercules*. There were many of this name, all whose achievements were attributed to one.

9. *Quîque*. In the ablative, the same with *quoque*. Some editions have *quisque*.

10. *Medi*. Media, bounded on the east by Parthia, and part of Hyrcania, on the west by Armenia major, and part of Assyria, on the north by the Caspian sea, and a part of Armenia major, now included in Georgia, on the south by Persia.

11. *Persæ*. Persia was bounded east by India, west by Media, Assyria and Chaldæa, north by Tartary, and south by the ocean.

12. *Armenii*. Armenia was distinguished into major and minor; the former bounded east by Media, and part of the Caspian sea, west by the Euphrates, which divides it from Armenia minor, north by Colchis now Mingrelia, and south by Mesopotamia, and part of Assyria. Armenia minor, a part of Anatolia, or Asia minor, and bounded east by the Euphrates, which separates it from Armenia major, south by mount Taurus, which divides it from Cilicia, west and north by a chain of hills, called in different places Mons Scordiscus, Amænus, or Antitaurus, which divides it from Cappadocia, of which it was once a part, till conquered by the Armenians.

13. *Intra oceanum*, &c. More upon the ocean, i. e. on the coast of Africa, without the straits of Gibraltar, where the land, bending outwards, the Atlantic seems to embrace, and enfold the country in its arms.

14. *Miscuere*. *Secum* understood; in some editions it is expressed.

15. *Tentantes agros*. [In trying the pasturage.]

16. *Numidas*. The Numidians must have been originally a pastoral people, as appears from their name; νομη signifying pasture. [If the name really have this derivation, it must have been given them by the Greeks, among whom the term νομαδες was applied to pastoral nations in general.]

17. *Sub sole*. More under the sun, i. e. nearer to the equator.

18. *Ardoribus*. [The heats of the torrid zone.]

19. *Hique*. *Hi* here refers to the more remote antecedents *Medi et Armenii*.

20. *Freto*. *Tantum* being understood; by the strait only.

21. *Ac postea nomine*, &c. [And afterwards under the name of 62
Numidians, they, &c. i. e. Persians called Numidians, or who had assumed that name.—*Loca quæ—appellatur*. See p. 39, note 32. *Nostrum mare*. The Mediterranean, so called by the Romans either because it washed Italy on three sides, or more probably the

62 was given it from feelings of national vanity, after the countries bordering upon it had been reduced beneath the Roman sway.]

22. *Libyes.* The meaning is, that the Numidians, when they removed to the Mediterranean, acquired glory by the conquest of the Libyans, who were less warlike than the Getulians.

23. *Concessere.* Fell, sunk, merged into the nation, &c.

24. *Phœnices.* Phœnicia was bounded east and south by Palestine, north by Syria, west by the Mediterranean. A part of the inhabitants of this country removed into Africa, after the conquest of Joshua.

25. *Hipponem.* [*Hippo,* now Bona, was a town of Numidia, formerly the capital of that country, which accounts for its being frequently called *Hippo regius.* It was the birth-place of St. Augustine.]

26. *Hadrumetum.* Now Mahometta, [the capital of *Byzacium,* a district of *Africa Propria*.]

27. *Leptim.* There were two cities of this name; the greater between the two Syrtes now Lebida in the Tripolitane, the lesser between the lesser Syrtes and Carthage, now Lempta. The former is here spoken of.

28. *Carthagine.* Carthage was a famous city of Africa, situated a short distance from the modern Tunis. [vid. page 6, note 99.]

29. *Ad Catabathmon.* [Towards, or, near Catabathmos.]

30. *Secundo mari.* Along the sea-coast.

31. *Cyrene.* Bounded east by Marmarica, west by Africa proper, or the state of Tunis, part of the Mediterranean, and the greater Syrtes, north by the Mediterranean, and south by Libya inferior, or the deserts of Libya. Its chief city was called Cyrene, now Cairoan.

32. *Thereôn.* The Greek genitive plural. The settlers in Cyrene came from Thera, an island in the Ægean sea, to the north of Crete. [*Thereôn* is for the more common Latin form *Theræorum.* The Greek form is Θηραιων. *Thera* is now called Santorin, and forms one of the cluster of islands called *Sporades* in the northern part of the Egean. According to Pliny, it rose from the sea in the 4th year of the 135th olympiad, and was at first called *Calliste,* from its beautiful appearance. Theras peopled it with a Grecian colony, and from him it received the name of Thera. The colony which founded Cyrene was led by Aristæus, surnamed Battus, or tongue-tyed, who called it after his mother.]

33. *Syrtes.* [See notes to Chapter 78 of Jugurtha, page 104, note 90.]

34. *Leptis.* [Leptis major, see note 27, above.]

35. *Philenôn.* The Greek genitive plural. [Φιλαινῶν. See notes to Chapter 79 of Jugurtha.]

36 *Quem.* *Locum* understood; in some editions it is expressed

37. *Punicæ.* Carthaginian; from the theme φοινιξ, a palm tree.

38. *Super Numidiam.* Beyond Numidia, southerly.

39. *Æthiopas.* These, according to Sallust, inhabited the middle of Africa, from east to west.

40. *Ex punicis oppida.* The more usual construction would be, *ex punicis oppidis. Oppida* is here governed by *administrabat.* 62
41. *Novissume.* Very lately.
42. *Numidia.* In some editions *Numidæ.*
43. *Mulucham.* A river of Mauretania Tingitana, now called Malva or Mulva.
44. *Cetera. Quoad, quod ad,* or *secundum* understood.
45. *Præmia sceleris.* [The rewards of his wickedness; i. e. the half of Numidia in place of the third part.] 63
46. *Animum intendit.* [Directs his thoughts.]
47. *Quem petebat.* [Whom he attacked; at whom he aimed.]
48. *Opportunus injuriæ.* A fit subject of injustice; one on whom injuries might be committed without danger.
49. *Dolore permotum.* [Stung with indignation.]
50. *Sumere.* For *assumere,* or *suscipere,* to undertake.
51. *Quia tentatum antea, &c.* [Because, when tried on a former occasion, it had eventuated otherwise than he had expected; it had not succeeded according to his expectations. *Secus ac speraverat.*]
52. *Animo invaserat.* [Had grasped in thought.]
53. *Cirtam,* [now Constantina: Cirta was a town of Numidia, on the river Ampsagas, at a considerable distance from the coast, once the royal residence and a place of great wealth under Syphax. It was afterwards called *Sittianorum Colonia,* from a general of the name of Sittius, who greatly assisted Cæsar in the African war, and was rewarded for his services with this district. At length, it took the name of Constantina, which it still retains.]
54. *Die.* The old genitive for *diei.* [*vid.* Virgil, Georg. 1. 208. Ovid. Met. 3. 241; 6, 506; 7, 728, 737. Cic. pro R. Am. 45, &c.]
55. *Obscuro etiam tum lumine.* [The light of day being still as yet dim, or obscure; i. e. before it was quite light.] 64
56 *Partim.* [The old accusative singular of *pars,* taken adverbially, but having in fact, *quod ad* or *secundum* understood.]
57. *Togatorum.* The Romans were called *togati,* from the gowns which they wore; for a similar reason the Greeks were called *palliati,* and the Gauls *braccati.* [The Gauls were called *gens braccata,* from the *braccæ* (breeches) worn by the inhabitants. *Breac* is the Celtic word for a stripe, and therefore we need not doubt but that these breeches, or rather kelts were made of striped materials. Hence also we learn that the appellation *virgati* applied to the *Dahæ* by Virgil, has reference to their striped garments. Traces of this early apparel may be observed in the Scotch plaid. The Highlanders of Scotland are a Gaelic, that is, a Celtic race.]
58. *Vineis.* Machines in form of sheds, or mantlets, constructed of wood and hurdles, under cover of which the Roman soldiers worked the ram, or advanced to the enemy's walls, to undermine them. The *turres* were structures of wood, of a square form, equal in height to the walls, or a little higher, rolled on wheels, and pushed forward by men behind them. On these armed men annoyed the besiegers. [The term *Vinea* is properly an adjective, having *porticus* understood, and signifying originally an arbour in a vineyard. The name was applied to the military machine described

64 in the previous part of this note, from its general resemblance to a vine-arbour. That the term *porticus* is in reality understood, is apparent from a passage in Cæsar, B. C. II. 2. where *porticus* is used in place of *vinea*.]

59. *Velle et censere.* The people were properly said, *velle*, to will a measure; the senate, *censere*, to determine after mature deliberation.

60. *Se.* [Refers to the Romans.—*illis* to the princes.]

61. *Clemens.* Mild, which lessened or softened the atrocity of the act.

62. *Oratione.* Embassy. Anciently an ambassador was called *orator*, and his embassy, message, or commission, *oratio*.

63. *Ob easdem artis.* [From the exercise of the same qualities.]

64. *Pro bono.* [Well: for their own interests.]

65. *Sese.* The use of this pronoun here shows, that, when it was not absolutely necessary to determine the sense, the distinction betwen *eum* and *se* was not always maintained.

66. *Decessisse.* *Decedo* and *discedo* are often used for each other. [The strict distinction between the two verbs, which, however, is seldom observed, appears to be this; that *decedo* signifies to make room for another, to retire merely a short distance; *discedo*, to leave the place entirely, to depart, and generally speaking, in different directions.]

65 *Vallo.* *Vallus* signifies a stake, *vallum* a rampart, because the earth of which it was composed was kept together by stakes; and *vallis*, a valley, may have originally signified the hollow space whence the earth was dug to form the rampart.

68. *Turris.* *Turris* signifies here a fixed turret, erected to secure the rampart and other works against the attacks of enemies from within, or from without, or to annoy the besieged.

69. *Defensoribus mœnium*, &c. [To the defenders of the ramparts he at one time offered rewards, at another displayed to their view what was calculated to alarm; i. e. he endeavoured to seduce them from their duty at one time by offering bribes, at another by denouncing threats.]

70. *In animo habeat.* [Regards, cares for, allows to occupy his thoughts.]

71. *Quam.* *Malit* being equivalent to *magis velit*, supercedes the necessity of inserting *magis* before *quam*.

72. *Urguear.* An archaism for *urgear*.

73. *Plura de Jugurtha*, &c. [My wretched condition dissuades me from writing more respecting Jugurtha.]

74. *Nisi.* This is still used as an exceptive particle. The meaning is, I will write *nisi hoc unum*, but this one thing. *Nisi tamen hoc unum scribam, quod intelligo*, &c. [Cortius explains this phrase as follows: Si *mihi* non *creditis*, *tamen intelligo*, &c. Even, however, though credence be denied me, still am I well aware that he, &c. The object of Adherbal is to excite the suspicions of the Romans against Jugurtha.]

75. *Gravius.* [Of the greater importance.]

76. *Quæ sane fuerint*, &c. [These I allow may have been our own private wrongs, of no concern to you: now, however, he holds your kingdom by force of arms.] 65

77. *Obsidet*. In some editions *tenet atque obsidet*. But to this reading it may be objected that *tenet* is found before in the same sentence.

78. *Ut Jugurthæ sceleri ostentui essem*. [That I might be a proof 66 of the wickedness of Jugurtha; equivalent to *ut in me Jugurtha ostenderat scelera sua*.]

79. *Tantummodo inimici imperium*, &c. [I only pray to be saved from the power of an inveterate foe, and from bodily torments.]

80. *Per amicitiæ fidem*. By the faith of friendship, i. e. by the regard which is due to friendship.

81. *Avi*. Before *avi* some editions have *remanet*. [Cortius displays bad taste in omitting this verb. It contains a beautiful and touching reproof. If any remembrance still *lingers* among you, of my grandfather Masinissa.]

82. *Enisum*. The partisans of the king laboured with all their might. *Enisum* is here taken as a passive deponent.

83. *Decretum*. In some editions *tale decretum*.

84. *Honoribus*. In some editions *honoribus usi*.

85. *Princeps*. The *princeps senatus* was the person who had his name first inserted on the censor's roll, and who was usually first called upon to give his opinion, unless there were consuls to elect.

86. *In invidia res erat*. [The affair was connected with public odium.]

87. *Escendere*. An archaism for *ascendere*.

88. *Uticam*. [An ancient and celebrated city of Africa Propria, near the mouth of the river Bagradas, or Megerda, founded by a colony of Phœnicians about 287 years before Carthage, from which it was only about seven miles distant. In greatness and magnificence, Utica was next to Carthage, and after the destruction of that city, became the capital of the country. It was famous for the death of M. Porcius Cato, who put an end to his life there, after the battle of Thapsus.]

89. *Vicit tamen in avido ingenio*, &c. [Evil suggestions, however, gained the ascendancy in his ambitious soul.]

90. *Potiora*. [More worthy of reliance.] 67

91. *Excruciatum necat*. An elegant mode of expressing the same sentiment with *postquam excruciasset, necat*.

92. *Puberes*. [In many editions there is no comma between *puberes* and *Numidas*: it is far inferior, however, to the pointing followed in the text.]

93. *Tribunus plebis*. These officers were created A. U. 260, to protect the people against the oppression of the senate and nobility. In consequence of the law rendering their persons inviolable, they at length became extravagantly imperious, and abused their power. [Two tribunes were at first created at the assembly by *Curiæ*, who, according to Livy, created three colleagues to themselves. In the year of the city 283, they were first elected at the

67 assembly by tribes, and A. U. 297, ten tribunes were created, two out of each class, which number continued ever after.]

94. *Vir acer.* [A spirited individual.]

95. *Id agi.* That it was in contemplation.

96. *Profecto omnis invidia*, &c. [Beyond a doubt, all the odium connected with the affair would have died gradually away, by reason of the frequent postponing of their deliberations.] In some editions we read *dilapsa foret;* but the indicative is sometimes used for the subjunctive, in other authors, in similar circumstances.

97. *Lege Sempronia.* By this law, the author of which was C. Semp. Gracchus, tribune of the people, it was ordained that the senate, before the annual elections, should determine what should be the provinces of the consuls.

98. *Obvenit.* Fell to the lot of.

99. *Scribitur.* *Scribere milites*, to raise, levy or enlist soldiers, because their names were written on tables.

68 100. *Venum ire.* In other editions *venire.*

1. *Qui postquam mœnia.* &c. [When they were drawing nigh to Rome; were in the vicinity of Rome.]

2. *Recipi mœnibus.* Those whom the Romans did not incline to admit into the city were entertained in a *villa publica* erected without the walls, or had a hearing in the temple of Bellona, which was also without the city.

3. *Consul Numidis*, &c. [The consul orders information of the decree of the senate to be given to the Numidians.]

4. *Legat.* Appoints for his lieutenants.

5. *Munita.* [Screened from punishment.]

6. *Rhegium.* A city and promontory in *Calabria ultra*, in the sourthern part of Italy, nearly opposite to Messina in Sicily.

7. *Siciliam.* A well known and very fruitful island in the Mediterranean, formerly called *Triquetra*, and *Trinacria* from its triangular form, and lying south-westerly and west from the southern part of Italy.

8. *Animus æger avaritia*, &c. [His spirit, corrupted by avarice, undervent an easy change.]

9. *Ex factione.* [Of his (Scaurus's) party]

10. *Tamen magnitudine*, &c. [Nevertheless was drawn away by the greatness of the bribe which he had received from the path of rectitude and honour into that of corruption.]

11. *De omnibus pactionibus.* [Concerning all the articles of a treaty, i. e. concerning a general treaty.]

12. *Fidei causa.* An elliptical sentence for *fidei faciundæ causa*, scil. *apud Jugurtham.*

13. *Vagam.* [This city, sometimes but improperly written *Vacca*, was situate in *Africa Propria*, on the river *Rubricatus*, and was the most celebrated mart of the whole kingdom. See chapter 69.]

14. *Deditionis mora.* *Per moram quam faciebat deditio;* i. e. *pendente deditione.* Till the surrender should be completed, [or, while the business of the surrender was pending, a truce prevailed.]

15. *Præsenti concilio.* [In presence of the council of war.] 69
16. *Uti acciperetur.* That he might be received.
17. *Saturam.* This word is properly an adjective, *lancem* being understood. The *lanx satura* literally signifies the platter or charger annually filled with all sorts of fruits, and offered to the gods, as the *primitiæ*, or first fruits of the season; and from this medley, is here figuratively employed to express a confused, indistinct, and promiscuous collecting of the votes; and may be translated, *by the lump*. [Or, in a hasty and confused manner.]
18. *Pro consilio.* [Before the council.]
19. *Ad magistratus rogandos.* The consul presided at the election, and asked the people to give their votes, *suffragia rogabat*: hence *ad rogandos magistratus*, signifies to hold an election for magistrates.
20. *Probarentne.* Before this word, some editions have *soliciti erant*; the sense, however, is complete without these additional words. [Cortius places a comma after *Patres*, which then becomes either the nominative absolute, or else the accusative governed by *quod ad* understood. According to our present reading, *Patres* is the nominative to *probarent*, which is certainly the simplest.]
21. *Memmii.* In some editions *Romæ* is inserted before *Memmii.*
22. *Clara pollensque.* [Distinguished and influential: was of a high character itself, and had a strong influence upon the minds of the people.]
23. *Perscribere.* To transcribe, to copy out, to commit to writing.
24. *Ac potissimum quæ.* An elliptical sentence for ac potissimum perscribam, or *ea dicam, quæ*, &c.
25. *Multa dehortantur*, &c. [Did not, O Romans, my affection for the republic overcome every other consideration, many things would dissuade me from espousing your cause; the resources namely of the opposite faction, your tame endurance of injury, the absence of all justice, and above all, because there is more danger than honour attendant upon innocence.]
26. *Ut*, &c. [To what a degree your spirit has been corrupted &c.] 70
27. *Obnoxiis inimicis.* [When your enemies are in your power, at your mercy: i. e. when, by the detection of their guilt, you may punish them as they deserve, and free yourselves from their tyranny.]
28. *Secessione.* [The first secession of the Roman commons occurred, A. U. 260, when the people retired from the city to the *Mons Sacer*, on account of the oppression of their creditors, and were only induced to return on being allowed a remission of debts for those who were insolvent, and liberty to such as had been given up to serve their creditors, and permission likewise to elect magistrates out of their own number, for the protection of their rights. These were the tribunes of the commons. The second succession took place, A. U. 305, in consequence of the affair of Virginia, and

70 was made first to the Aventine, and thence to the Sacred mount. There was also a third secession, viz. of the soldiers, A. U. 413.]

29. *Suomet—more.* [In their own way; i. e. by the natural consequences of their vices and crimes.]

30. *Quæstiones.* In some editions, *quæstiones graves*, severe prosecutions.

31. *Utriusque cladis*, &c. [It was not any law, but their own arbitrary will which put an end to each of these massacres.]

32. *Sed sane fuerit*, &c. [But let it then be an aiming at supreme power, to restore their rights to the commons, let whatever cannot be avenged without shedding the blood of citizens, be justly done.—*Nequitur* in this passage is used in a passive sense. It occurs in the same sense in *Lucretius*, I. 1045. and in *Plautus. Rud.* 4. 4. 20. *id. Fragm. Satyr. ap. Fest. s. v. nequitum.* So also we have *nequitum est* in *Pacuvius* and *Cato, ap. Fest. l. c.* The simple verb *quitur* is likewise found, *Cæcil. ap. Diomed.* p. 380. *queuntur, Accius, ibid: quitus sum, Accius, ibid: quita est, Terent. Hec.* 4. 1. 87. &c.]

33. *Summam gloriam.* [The highest offices in the state.]

34. *Per ora vestra.* [Before your faces.]

35. *Ostentantes.* Displaying, making a parade of.

71 36. *Occidisse.* The infinitive used as a substantive. Instances of this may be found afterwards in the same and following pages, and are frequent in all authors. [The whole clause, *occidisse tribunos plebis*, is rather to be considered as supplying the place of a noun in the accusative; so also *cædem in vos fecisse.*]

37. *Pessume.* The adverbs *pessime* and *maxime* are superlatives, but, according to the idiom of our language, must be translated as comparatives.

38. *Inter malos factio.* [Among the bad, combination.]

39. *Tam.* In other editions *vos tam*, which in order emphatically to mark out the opposition, I should in this case prefer.

40. *Beneficia vestra.* [Your favours, the offices in your gift.]

41. *Parandi juris*, &c. [For the sake of obtaining their rights, and establishing their dignity.]

42. *Aventinum. Montem* understood. Mount Aventine was one of the seven hills on which Rome was built. See page 70. note 28.]

43. *Quod.* In some editions *quo*, which, as contrasted with *eo*, I should prefer.

44. *Vindicandum in eos.* [Censeo understood before, and *esse* after *vindicandum.* My opinion is that punishment be inflicted upon those, &c.]

45. *Quod magis fecisse*, &c. [Which would be more disgraceful for you to have done, than to have happenened unto them.]

72 46. *Casura esset*, &c. Would tend to your destruction. [Would end in your own ruin.]

47. *Quantum importunitatis habent.* So unreasonable or extravagant are their demands. *Quantum* is here used for *tantum*, as is sometimes *quæ* for *eq.*

48. *Potestne in tam divorsis*, &c. [Can there be peace or friendship between minds influenced by such opposite views?]

49. *Peculatus ærarii.* No embezzlement of the public money 72
has been committed.

50. *Id est regem esse.* [The more usual form of expression would be *rex esse*, but we may suppose *eum* to be here understood before *esse*.] The term *Regem* is here taken in a bad sense and equivalent to tyrant.

51. *Ad hoc si injuriæ non sint*, &c. [The idea intended to be conveyed is this, that if you punish the bad, you deter from the commission of offences, and if offences be not committed you will seldom need the aid of the good for your protection, and will consequently be under no very strong obligations to bestow favours upon them for their services.]

52. *Interposita*, &c. Having pledged the public faith for the security of his person.

53. *Romam*, &c. In this sentence *eumque* or *ut* must be understood 73
before *interposita:* the first is expressed in some editions.

54. *Vendere.* In some editions *venderent:* in that case *qui* must be understood after *alii*.

55. *Pacatis.* *Provinciis* or *regionibus* being understood.

56. *Perlata regatione*, &c. [The bill proposed by Caius Memmius being carried through, i. e. having become a law.] *Rogatio* was so called because the people were *asked* whether it was their pleasure to pass it.

57. *Ex conscientia.* From a consiousness of guilt.

58. *Quo.* Is here put for *qua*, or *quoniam:* the latter is the reading in some editions.

59. *Contra decus regium.* [In a manner unbecoming a king.]

60. *Cultu*, &c. In as sorry a plight as possible, that he might excite compassion. This was the practice of all accused persons among the Romans.

61. *Magna vis animi.* [Great resolution, firmness of mind.]

62. *Contra jus et injurias omnes.* [Against the arm of justice and all personal injuries.]

63. *Vincula.* In the plural this word signifies a prison, in the singular, a chain or bond.

64. *Postremo confirmare*, &c. [Finally assured them that the public faith should remain inviolate, as for as depended upon himself.]

67. *Verba facit.* [*Memmius* understood.]

66. *Quibus juvantibus, quibusque ministris.* [By whose aid and by whose instrumentality.]

67. *Vero.* In some editions *verum*.

68. *Ac tamen etsi multitudo*, &c. [And although the multitude, 74
which were present in the assembly, being violently incensed, sought to terrify him by their outcries, by their threatening gestures, oftentimes by their impetuous movements, and by all other means which anger is accustomed to employ, still his impudence prevailed. *Quæ ira amat fieri*, litterally, which anger loves to be done or put in operation, like the corresponding Greek phrase, φιλει γιγνεσθαι. Quintilian, 9, 3. in speaking of Sallust's frequent imitations of the

74 Greek idiom, cites this very phrase. The term *voltus*, in this passage, refers not merely to the face but to the whole body.]

69. *Jugurtham ob scelera*, &c. [For *et quonium Jugurtham*, &c. And since public odium, together with private fear on his own part, pressed heavy upon Jugurtha.] *Invidia cum metu* is put for *invidia et metus*.

70 *Belli gerundi*. [Of carrying on some war.]

71. *Movere*. In some editions *moveri*.

72. *Macedonia*. The country of Alexander the Great, having Thrace on the east, Illyricum on the west, Dardania on the north, and Thessaly on the south. [After it became a Roman province it extended from the Ægean to the Ionian sea, comprehending Illyricum within its limits.]

73. *Timor* In some editions, *timor animi*.

74. *Maxume occulte*. Privately by all means.

75. *Itinera egressusque*, &c. [He ascertains his accustomed routes, his goings out, in fine all his places of resort, and his entire mode of spending the day. *Egressus* refers to his occasional departure from the city, as well as to his walks within the same.]

76. *Paulo inconsultius*. A little too rashly.

77. *Indicium p*[illegible] Makes a discovery.

75 78. *Fit reus magis*, &c. [Bomilcar, one of the retinue of him who had come to Rome, on a pledge of the public faith, is put to his trial, more in conformity with what was just in itself, and conducive to public utility, than in accordance with the law of nations. By the law of nations, the retinue not only of ambassadors, but of all persons to whom the public faith had been pledged, were exempted from injury. Grotius, (*de Jure Belli et Pacis*, 18. 8,) proves this to have been an early law among the Romans, from one of the old forms used by the *Feciales*.]

79. *Animum advortit*. An archaism for *animadvertit*.

80. *In priore actione*. [In the first stage of the proceeding: in the early part of the case. With *actione* understand *forensi*.]

81. *Vades*. Securities or bail, so called in a criminal action; in a civil suit they were termed *prædes*.

82. *Profectus est*. In some editions *eodem profectus*, &c.

83. *Urbem venalem*, &c. [The common mode of rendering this passage, destroys all its beauty, viz. *That* the city *was* venal, &c. as if *urbem* were the accusative before *esse* understood. On the contrary, the whole is meant as an emphatic *exclamation* on the part of Jugurtha, accompanied with a corresponding gesture. Ah, venal city, and destined soon to fall, if it could find a purchaser! Sallust here quotes apparently the very words of Jugurtha, for they are given by Livy, Epit. 64, in the same form, except that the interjection is prefixed: *O urbem venalem*, &c.—In relation to the departure of Jugurtha, however, Livy differs essentially from Sallust, since he makes the king himself to have been put to trial for the murder of Massiva, and to have saved himself only by secretly escaping from the city.]

84. *Maturat*. In some editions *mature*.

85. *Instanti.* [Scil. *Albino.*] 75
86. *Ex tanta properantia.* [After so much haste, viz. on the part of Albinus in his preparations for the campaign.]
87. *Pro prætore.* In some editions *proprætore,* the compound form.
88. *Continuare magistratum.* [To continue their magistracy, i. e. to continue themselves in office.]
89. *Pecuniæ capiundæ.* [Of extorting money.] 76
90. *Suthul.* [A town of Numidia, the situation of which is unknown. The name is said to denote, the town of eagles.]
91. *Sævitia temporis.* [The severity of the season.]
92. *Nam circum murum,* &c. [For a plain rendered miry by wintry rains had spread a marsh around the walls, which were situated at the foot of a craggy mountain; i. e. the town itself was built on the higher parts of the mountain, while the main fortifications were erected below at the base, and were encompassed by a plain which the rains in winter rendered a morass. *Extremo* cannot by any possible mode be made to signify the *top* of the mountain, or why should Aulus have raised a mound and erected *vineæ?* nor can the town itself be supposed to have been situated immediately behind the walls at the foot of the mountain since, in that event how could the craggy sides of the mountain prove any additional source of defence to the town erected at their base, and why would they be mentioned?]
93. *Vineas.* In some editions, *Cæcus, ob thesauros, oppidi potiundi, vineas,* &c.
94. *Aggerem.* *Aggeres* were mounds or banks of earth, secured by timbers, and raised to the height of the walls, or to a greater height. They were sometimes fixed, sometimes moveable; and were designed as stations for soldiers to annoy the besieged, till the army should undermine the wall, or beat it down with engines.
95. *Vanitate.* [Weakness, inconsiderate rashness.]
96. *Subdolus augere amentiam.* [Craftily augmented his foolish confidence or presumption.]
97. *Insequeretur.* After this word is introduced in some editions an entire sentence. *Ita delicta occultiora fuere.* This sentence, with the variation of *fore* for *fuere,* follows in this edition after *desererent.*
98. *Tentabat.* [He tampered with.]
99. *Turmarum.* A *Turma* or troop consisted of 30 horse.
100. *Instruit.* In some editions *instruxit.*
1. *Periculum anceps.* Danger on all sides.
2. *Ligurum.* Of Ligurians. Ancient *Liguria* answered formerly to Lombardy, now to Genoa, Piedmont, Parma, &c.
3. *Thracum.* Of Thracians. A country to the north of Greece, now Roumulia, or Romania.
4. *Centurio primi pili.* A Roman legion consisted of ten cohorts, 77
each cohort of three manipuli, and every manipulus of two centuries, each commanded by a centurion. The number of men in a century was not uniformly the same. The Roman troops were usually drawn up in three lines; those in the first rank were called

77 *hastati*, those in the second *principes*, and those in the third *triarii*, from the position. The *triarii*, were old and tried soldiers, and were reckoned more honourable than the rest. The centurion of the first century of the first maniple of the *triarii* was called *centurio primi pili*, or *primi ordinis*, or *primus pilus*, *primipilus*, *primopilus*, or *primus centurio*, he presided over all the other centurions, and had the charge of the eagle or chief standard of the legion.

5. *Quo minus victoria*, &c. From making a proper use of their victory.

6. *Sub jugum*. Two spears stuck in the ground, crossed by another at the top like a gallows were called *jugum*. Under this the vanquished passed disarmed by way of ignominy and in token of subjection.

7. *Mutabant*.* They exchanged. In some editions *nutabant*, they wavered, fluctuated. were irresolute. [Cortius prefers *mutabant*, but thinks it should be usedin a passive signification; for which there is no necessity whatever, as *ea* may very well be understood with the active form. If *nutabant* be read, which certainly appears the preferable form, and has the usage of Tacitus in particular to confirm it, *mortis metu* will signify, through, or in consequence of the fear of death.]

8. *Metus atque mœror*. [For the true meaning of *mœror*, see Catiline's Conspiracy, page 44, note 95.—With regard to *metus*, it is generally thought to denote approaching danger, while *timor* signifies danger impending and imminent. The case, however, is exactly the reverse. *vid* Crombie's Gymnasium, vol. 1, page 176.]

9. *Quod armatus*, &c. [Because, with arms in his hands, he had sought safety rather by a disgraceful surrender, than a valiant resistance.] In some editions *quæsiverit*.

10. *Ac deinde periculum*. [And danger resulting therefrom, or, dangerous consequences therefrom.]

11. *Quanquam persequi Jugurtham*, &c. [Although his bosom burned to pursue Jugurtha, and allay the odium to which his brother's misconduct had given rise.]

12. *Soluto imperio*. Under a lax discipline.

13. *Ex copia rerum*. Considering all circumstances.

78 14. *Neglegisset*. An archaism for *neglexisset*. [Cicero himself uses this old form. *Phil.* 13, cap. 16.]

15. *Huic rogationi*. [To be connected in construction with *impedimenta parabant*, not with *resistere*, which governs *illæ* understood.]

16. *Quin faterentur*, &c. [Without at the same time confessing that these and other misdemeanours of a similar nature were pleasing unto themselves: i. e. their opposing the passage of the bill openly would have been an implied admission on their part, that they would have acted in the same way as the guilty, had they been placed in the same situation with them.]

17. *Tanta lubido in partibus*. Such was the violence of party spirit; [or, such violence was there among the parties of the day.]

18. *Docuimus*. In some editions, *memoravimus*.

19. *Trepida*. The city being not yet free from panic.

20. *Mamilia.* In some editions *Mamiliana.* 78
21. *Quæsitores.* Commissioners to enquire into the charges, &c.
22. *Quæstio exercita,* &c. [The enquiry was conducted with harshness and severity, in accordance with mere rumour, and the caprice of the commons; i. e. in the absence of substantial proof, mere idle rumours and popular feeling were made to supply its place.]
23. *Mos partium popularium,* &c. [The words *mos partium* would alone suffice to convey the meaning of Sallust, and from *popularium* to *factionum* might be safely omitted. This has induced some of the best commentators to consider the passage as it now stands, to be extremely corrupt. The import of the words, if we retain from *popularium* to *factionum*, will be this, the custom of having a party of the people, and another in the senate; i. e. the existence of a popular and an aristocratic party.]
24. *Malarum artium.* [Evil practices.]
25. *Metus hostilis.* [For *metus hostium.*]
26. *Scilicet ea,* &c. [Gruter and others suspect a corruption of the text in this passage, and consider *scilicet ea* to be superfluous. ous. The whole may be rendered as follows: those things which prosperity is wont to produce, licentiousness namely and pride, came naturally upon them; i. e. licentiousness and pride, the usual attendants upon prosperity, naturally made their appearance.]
27. *Asperius acerbiusque fuit.* [*Quam ipse ille metus hostilis fuerat* may be understood to complete the sentence.] 79
28. *Dignitatem,* &c. Various words in the English language must be employed to express the various shades of character denoted by the general Latin term *libido.* In this sentence, as connected with *dignitatem,* it has one application, and as attached to *libertatem,* another. *Dignitatem in lubidinem vertere,* to convert their high rank into a mean, or instrument for the gratification of their passions; *libertatem in lubidinem vertere,* to convert their liberty into licentiousness.
29. *Ducere.* [Dishonestly acquired: *ducere* denotes fraud, *rapere* and *trahere* imply violence. These words, thus arranged, are employed to express the progress of corruption, commencing with dishonest dealing, and rising gradually to bold and unpunished violence.]
30. *Soluta atque dispersa,* &c. [Disunited and divided among a large number, among a multitude. Cortius places a comma after *dispersa,* and makes *in multitudine* signify, notwithstanding their numbers, a meaning which few will be inclined to consider correct.]
31. *Ex nobilitate.* [These words are considered by the best commentators as a mere interpolation, and ought not, as is done by some, to be referred to the Gracchi, who, although of noble origin, are yet always placed by Sallust in opposition to the nobility, and on the side of the commons.]
32. *Permixtio civilis,* &c. A civil commotion, like a parting or disuniting of the earth. In other editions, *dissentio civilis quasi permixtio.*

79 33. *Quorum majores.* [They were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, and grandsons, by the side of their mother Cornelia, of Scipio Africanus Major.]

34. *Eadem ingredientem.* Commencing the same course, pursuing the same measures.

35. *Coloniis,* &c. The citizens of Rome, deriving no support from commercial pursuits, and but little from the exercise of industry, because very few of the mechanic arts were practised there, were, many of them, mere pensioners on the bounty of the state. Commissioners were therefore appointed, from time to time, to conduct colonies of them to settle on a portion of the conquered territories. By this means a provision was made for the needy citizens, and an additional security provided against insurrection and rebellion.

36. *Necaverant.* Had murdered or assassinated, which is the proper meaning of the term.

37. *Bono.* It is better for a good man, &c.—[The student will note the construction which occurs a little lower in the sentence, *multos mortales ferro aut fuga exstinxit.* Here the verb *exstinxit* properly should be joined only with *ferro*, but is made by a peculiar licence to connect itself with both *ferro* and *fuga*. We cannot imitate this always in English: in the present instance we must use two verbs; destroyed by the sword, or deprived of all their civil rights by exile, many individuals. See chapter 49, note 86.]

80 38. *Deserat.* In some editions *deficeret.*

39. *Paraverunt.* In some editions *partiverant.* [The reason why some have preferred *partiverant* to *paraverunt* in this passage, is because *evenerat* follows, which they refer to a drawing of lots on the part of the consuls, for their respective provinces. Gronovius, however, has proved from a comparison of several passages of Livy, that the verb *evenire* does not always carry with it the idea of chance or lot, but refers sometimes to a simple arrangement among the parties. On this ground *paraverunt* has been retained here by Cortius.]

40. *Advorso.* Here used as a substantive, and followed by the genitive case. In some editions *advorso populi partibus.*

41. *Æquabili,* &c. Uniform and unimpeachable: as if Sallust had said, *æquabiliter inviolata*, scil. *inter nobiles et plebem.*

42. *Cum collega.* Common to himself and his colleague. [*Alia omnia.* These are alluded to in Livy, XXI. 63, viz. the taking of auspices, the offering up of vows, approaching the Capitol, seeing and consulting the senate, proclaiming the Latin festival, &c.]

43. *Bello vario.* In some editions *in bello vario*, less elegantly. *Bellum varium* means a complicated war.

44. *Ad ea patranda,* &c. [For the accomplishment of these ends, the allies and the Latin nation in consequence of a decree of the senate, kings of their own accord, sent aid.] Some editions read *mittendo* in place of *mittere.*

45. *Sp. Albini.* [*Agentis* or *imperantis* understood, acting or commanding in the stead of the consul, i. e. as proconsul.] In some editions *a Sp. Albino.*

46. *Sine imperio et modestia habitus.* Kept under no discipline or restraint.

47. *Æstivorum.* Of the summer campaign. [*Æstiva*, strictly speaking, is an adjective, like *hiberna*, and has *castra* understood. 81
In Tacitus, *Ann.* 1, 16, 2, we have the ellipsis supplied, *Castris æstivis tres simul legiones habebantur*.]

48. *Quantum temporis æstivorum*, &c. [During as much of the summer campaign as he was in command.]

49. *Deducebantur.* Is here used for *diducebantur*, were not lead off, were not distributed into their different stations: some render it, were not relieved.

50. *Lixæ.* Soldiers' servants, employed as washers, cooks, bakers; or buffoons who entertained and diverted officers, &c. in the army. [*Lixæ*, strictly speaking, signifies merely the soldiers' servants; in a more enlarged sense, however, it sometimes refers to the sutlers who followed the camp, and occasionally also to buffoons, which last meaning of the term rests on a passage in Justin (XXXVIII. 10) where, under the general name of *lixæ*, he comprehends, "*coqui, pistores. et histriones.*' Cortius maintains that it is here used by Sallust, for all manner of disorderly persons; the primitive meaning, however, appears to me preferable.]

57. *Die.* In some editions *diu.*

52. *Villas expugn re.* Stormed country-seats, or villas.

53. *Panem.* The Roman soldiers were furnished with corn, which they were to grind, sift, and prepare for bread by their own personal labour, and afterwards to bake it themselves.

54. *Tanta temperantia*, &c. [Regulated in his deportment with so much moderation, between a desire to gain popularity on the one hand, and rigid discipline on the other: i. e. in his deportment observing a well regulated medium between, &c.]

55. *Namque edicto primum*, &c. [*Sustulisse* in this clause, and *statuisse* lower down in the sentence, must not be mistaken for historical infinitives; they are both governed by *comperior* understood. Some editions read *primo* for *primum*, making it agree with *edicto*.]

56. *Agmine.* As *agmen* signifies a body of men on a march, it is often, as in this passage, taken to signify a march itself.

57. *Arte.* An archaism for *arcte*. That he set strict bounds to the rest; confined the rest within due bounds by strict regulations.

58. *Transvorsis itineribus.* By marches across the country.

59. *Circumire.* He went the rounds.

60. *Confirmavit.* He infused energy into the army; he restored it to vigour: *firmum reddidit.*

61. *Innocentia.* His incorruptible integrity. 82

62. *Suppliciis.* [With the emblems of submission, or, with suppliant emblems. By *supplicia*, in this sense, were usually meant branches of olive. The customs, however, of various nations, were different in this respect. According to the scholiast on Sophocles, *Œd. T.* 3. petitioners among the Greeks usually carried boughs wrapped around with fillets of wool. Sometimes the hands were covered with these fillets, not only among the Greeks, but among the

82 Romans also, hence in Plautus, *Amph.* I. 1. 101, we have the expression, *velatis manibus*.]

63. *Itaque legatos*, &c. [Wherefore he addresses himself to each of the ambassadors separately, one after the other.]

64. *Tentando*. By tampering with them.

65. *Mapalibus*. Huts, cottages; but here perhaps villages. [See Chapter 18.]

66. *Commeatum portare*. [To carry his provisions. The advantage resulting from this offer to the Romans would be, that the soldiers and beasts of burden would be released from the loads of provision they were accustomed respectively to carry. Others render the phrase, to bring provisions, which Cortius considers less accurate than the first.]

67. *Et insidiis locum tentari*. [I have given *tentari* in the text of the present edition, instead of *tentare*, which was in all the previous ones. The meaning is: that a place fit for an ambuscade was sought by the enemy; and *tentari* becomes then equivalent to *quæri*. This is an emendation which we owe to Gronovius. Cortius, however, condemns it, and reads *tentare*, before which he supposes the words *homines quosdam*, or something equivalent, to be understood. Others make *tentare* the historical infinitive, and refer it to Metellus: he examined the place to discover an ambuscade. According to both explanations, however, the reading *tentare*, I think, wants spirit. *Tentari* is given in the Bipont edition.]

68. *Velites*. Light-armed troops, who fought in the front of the army, or on the wings; so called *a volando*, from vaulting behind the cavalry for the sake of expedition, and leaping from the horses when they approached the enemy.

69. *Forum*, &c. A mart for buying and selling commodities.

83 70. *Huic consul*, &c. [I have here followed the reading of the Bipont edition, which alone appears to afford an intelligible meaning. The phrase *huic præsidium imposuit* is the true Latin idiom, although the student would at first view perhaps consider the ablative *hac* preferable, a case whose meaning we are nevertheless compelled to give to *huic* when we translate it into our own idiom. The meaning of the whole passage is as follows: In this place, the consul stationed a garrison, for the sake at the same time of sounding the real intentions of Jugurtha, (i. e. of ascertaining whether he really desired peace or was only seeking to lay some ambuscade) and of watching the result of his own plans (i.e. the assassination of Jugurtha by his ambassadors) if the advantages the place afforded should allow this to be done; (i. e. if upon trial the place should prove as advantageous for these two objects as he had imagined that it would.) The reading adopted by Cortius is this: *Huc consul simul tentandi gratia, si paterent opportunitates loci, p. o.* The particle *simul* he refers back to the preceding sentence, and makes Metellus to have been influenced in the step he took, both by the circumstance of there being many Roman traders in the city, and *at the same time*, by the wish of *ascertaining whether the advantages the place afforded would be open to his use*, (*tentandi gratia si paterent*, &c.) This mode of explaining the passage appears to me

too harsh, and the latter part of his explanation almost unintelligible.] 83

71. *Forent.* After this word we find in some editions *comportare*, which appears necessary neither to the sense nor to the construction.

72. *Frequentiam negotiatorum*, &c. [The reading which I have adopted is that of the Bipont edition, excepting the words *et jam*, which I have altered from *etiam*. The meaning of the whole passage will be as follows: having imagined, as the case itself suggested, that the great number of merchants who dwelt in the place, and of persons who were accustomed to visit it for the purpose of trade, would prove an assistance to his army, and be a means of security to the conquests he had now made; i. e. would supply his troops with provisions, &c. and by their presence aid in keeping the Numidian inhabitants of the place in subjection; for by both *negotiatores* and *commeatus*, Roman citizens are meant. Cortius considers *juvaturum exercitum*, as all the other editions, except the Bipont, have it, to be an interpolation; he reads *commeatum etiam paratis rebus fore*, and explains *commeatum* as it is given above; but by *paratis rebus*, he considers the store of provisions to be meant which Metellus had caused to be collected there. The reading we have adopted seems far preferable. Some editions have *commeatu*.]

73. *Alienata.* [Become the property of another.]

74. *Quas.* In some editions *quam*, which is certainly the common mode of expression, in similar cases, even in our author.

75. *Tractu pari.* Extending in a course parallel *to the river*.

76. *Vastus.* Waste, or desolate by nature, and left uncultivated by the industry of man.

77. *Quasi collis*, &c. A sort of hill arose, extending *in immensum*, scil. *spatium*.

78. *Humi arido*, &c. In an arid and sandy soil: *solo* understood.

79. *Media planicies.* [The intervening plain, i. e. the plain between the mountain and river.]

80. *Consita.* Overgrown, covered.

81. *Transvorso itinere.* [In a cross direction to the mountain, 84
i. e. at right angles with the mountain.]

82. *Extenuata suorum acie.* Having extended his army into a thin line.

83. *Pedites delectos.* In some editions *et peditibus delectis*.

84. *Decuerint.* Scil. *provideri*.

85. *Locum superiorem*, &c. [*Locum* is put in opposition with *omnia*. Jugurtha enumerates four particulars in which he had provided, like a good general, that his troops should have the advantage. (1) *Locum superiorem*, (2) *ne pauciores cum imperitis* (3) *ne pauciores cum pluribus*, (4) *aut rudes cum bello melioribus*, &c. *Prudentes* here denotes persons acquainted with the country.]

86. *Ut quemque*, &c. [*Extulerat*, if we consider its true meaning, should only be joined with *honore*; Sallust, however, used the same licence here which was alluded to in page 79, note 37. The passage might be rendered as follows, departing at the same time, however, from the strict meaning of *extulerat* in order to adapt it

84 both to *pecunia*, and *honore* : As he had distinguished any one, on account of some military exploit, with a present of money or with promotion.]

87. *Conspicatur.* [The Bipont edition reads *conspicatur*, as I have here given it, *hostes* being understood : Cortius prefers *conspicitur*, which does not preserve the connection with what follows so well as the former. *Conspicatur*, espies the enemy; *conspicitur*, is seen.]

88. *Equi Numidæque.* The Numidians, both cavalry and infantry: thus *equi virique* signify horsemen and footmen.

89. *Incerti quidnam esset.* Not clearly to be distinguished, so as to determine what it was : *incerti*, in a passive sense, for *cum cerni non possent.* [Or, *incerti* may be considered equivalent to, *de quibus non constabat.*]

90. *Constitit.* [Some editions have *constituit* : but *constitit* is here taken actively, he halted. [*Consisto* is, in fact, always an active verb, though the active meaning is generally more or less obscured. In this passage it has its accusative expressed ; in most instances, however, it has a pronoun understood.]

91. *Commutatis ordinibus.* [Having altered the arrangement of his forces. Jugurtha, it will be recollected, had drawn up his troops on the hill which extended in the direction of the river at right angles to the mountain. Down this mountain Metellus descended towards the same river; consequently he had Jugurtha's ambuscade on his right flank. The moment he perceived his danger he converted that flank into a front, and faced the enemy, by which movement his former front became his left, and his former rear his right flank. He did not, however, remain long halted in this position, but as soon as his arrangements were completed, continued his march down into the plain. How was this done? Evidently by marching obliquely to his left, by which means his troops would describe the diagonal of a parallelogram, having their front facing the enemy, to whom they were drawing gradually nearer, and

43 at the same time descending the mountain.]

92. *Triplicibus subsidiis.* With three bodies of reserve ; with three lines behind his front (*principia*) to serve as reserves. [This was the *acies quadruplex.*]

93. *Inter manipulos.* In the vacant spaces between the maniples.

94. *Transvorsis principiis.* Having turned the front into the flank. [See above, note 91.]

85 95. *Transvorsis prœliis.* By attacks on his flanks.

96 *Lassitudinem,* &c. Would try the effects of weariness and thirst on his, (Metellus's) men.

97. *Post principia.* Behind the front. [Commanding the three bodies of reserve.]

98. *Principes.* [Not the first line, but the leading division ; for the movement being an oblique one to the left, the cavalry of the left would lead it.]

99. *Primos.* [Those of his men who were stationed nearest the mountain.]

100. *Quasi.* [About: used for *fere*, as in Terence, *Heaut.* I. 1. 93.] 85

1. *Postremos cædere.* [By *postremi* here are properly meant the soldiers of the right wing, who are called the rear in reference to the *direction* of the Roman march. So *a sinistra* and *dextra*, if we consider the way in which the Roman army *faced*, properly reers to the rear and front.]

2. *Ipsi modo*, &c. [Were themselves alone wounded from a distance; i. e. they could not wound the enemy in return.]

3. *Ea.* *Fuga* understood. In some editions *eo.*

4. *Fœda atque miserabilis.* [Gloomy and affecting.]

5. *Die.* The old genitive.

6. *Cedentes tenderent.* Elegantly expressed, instead of *quo tenderent si*, or, *cum cederent*: to which they might repair in case they should give way. 86

7. *Quos firmos cognoverat*, &c. [He kept back, by attacking from afar, those whom he found firm in their resistance]—*perfugium.* In some editions *profugium.*

8. *Advorso colle.* Up the hill; *secundo colle*, down the hill.

9. *Ubique.* The same as *et ubi*; what the enemy were doing and where.

10. *Animo vacuum.* Without, or free from apprehension.

11. *Ex Jugurthæ prælio.* [From the quarter where Jugurtha was engaged.]

12. *Ante.* An archaism for *arcte*; [he had formed in close array.] 87

13. *Prospectum.* [A distant view.]

14. *Sicuti acies movebatur.* [As the army moved onward: *acies.* scil. *hostium*.]

15. *Concurrunt.* In some editions, *concurritur*, taken impersonally.

16. *Fessi lassique.* [Weary and exhausted. Cortius reads *fessi lætique.* Neither reading, however, has much to recommend it. In the one I have here adopted, there is an approach to pleonasm, not very usual in Sallust, while in that of Cortius the meaning does not agree with the context; for if the Romans had been *overjoyed at their success*, they would have felt a very strong desire to meet Metellus; besides, the term *quanquam* seems hostile to the use of *læti.* The Bipont editor, who reads *fessi lassique*, explains the two terms as follows: *Fessi*, h. e. satis habuere laborum: *lassi*, h. e. corporis viribus fere defecerant.]

17. *Nihil languidi neque remissi*, &c. [Admitted of no languor or remissness, on the part of the Romans. We have a pleonasm here which may go far towards confirming the reading alluded to in the above note, and which is adopted in the text: viz. *fessi lassique.*]

18. *Adventarent.* [I have adopted this reading instead of *adventare*, which appears in most editions.]

19. *Facinus miserabile.* [A lamentable accident, or event.]

20. *Advorsæ res*, &c. [A defeat humbles even the spirits of the brave.]

21. *Cum cura*, &c. [Carfully attends to the recovery of his wounded soldiers.]

88 22. *In præliis.* [In the two engagements, viz. the one in which he had fought with Jugurtha, and the other between Rutilius and Bomilcar.]

23. *Numero hominum ampliorem,* &c. [Superior in number of men to the last, but undisciplined and weak, acquainted with husbandry and pasturage rather than with war: i. e. composed rather of husbandmen and herdsmen, than of soldiers.]

24. *Flagitium militiæ.* [A violation of military duty.]

25. *Ita se mores,* &c. This custom of abandoning their general, after a defeat, is ascribed to the Israelites in sacred writ; was practised by the Parthians according to Herodian; was common to the Illyrians, if we credit the testimony of Thucydides; and also to the Germans, by the account of Tacitus; and extended to most of the Asiatic nations, if the authority of Herodotus be admitted.

26. *Ferocem.* [Unbroken, unsubdued.]

27. *Geri non posset.* [Cortius omits *non*, and strives to shew that *nisi* is here equivalent to *non nisi.*]

28. *Non præliis, neque acie.* [Not by encounters, nor in a pitched battle.]

59. *Temere munita.* Slightly fortified, carelessly fortified.

30. *Præda esse.* In some editions *prædam.* [They who read *prædam*, adopt at the same time, the reading *interfici jubet,* (where others have *interficit,*) and make *prædam* the accusative before *esse*, depending on *jubet.*]

31. *Cui.* Some editions have *cujus.*

32. *Sua loca.* Places of his own choosing; such as were advantageous to himself. *Alienis*, scil. *locis.*

33. *Ex copia.* Considering all circumstances.

34. *Plerumque.* Agrees here with *exercitum.* It is rarely used by other authors in the singular.

35. *Aviis,* &c. [Removed from the beaten track.]

36. *Ignoratus.* [Unobserved, unmarked.]

37. *Ut seque et exercitum,* &c. [The interchange of tenses here gives an air of great animation to the sentence: how he *was regulating* his own and the deportment of his army by the usages of former days; though in an adverse situation, *had* nevertheless *proved* victorious by his valour; *was master* of the enemy's country; *had compelled* Jugurtha, rendered arrogant, &c.

38. *Supplicia.* [A Thanksgiving. When a general had obtained an important victory, a thanksgiving was decreed by the senate to be made in the various temples; and what was called a *Lectisternium* took place, when couches were spread for the gods, as if about to feast, and their images were taken down from their pedestals, and placed upon them round the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes.]

39. *Effuso exercitu.* With his army scattered; with his army in disorder.

40. *Præsidium agitabant.* Formed a convoy, or guard.

41. *Partim.* In some editions *partem;* but *partim* is often used substantively, being in fact, the old accusative.

42. *Inter se.* *Distantes, distantibus,* or *distantia* being understood.

[*Distantes*, scil. *illi*; *distantibus*, scil. *locis*; *distantia*, scil. *castra*. The first is the simplest.] 88

43. *Pugnæ*. Scil. *opportunum*.

44. *Arcem regni*. [A bulwark, or stronghold of the kingdom.]

45. *Zamam*. [Zama, now Zamora, was a town of Numidia, five days journey south of Carthage. Near this place Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, obtained a decisive victory over the Carthaginian army under the command of Hannibal, 202 B. C. After the death of Juba, the Romans levelled it with the ground. Pliny (IV. 782,) mentions a fountain at Zama, which emitted melodious sounds.]

46. *Fallere nequibant*. Among the Romans, deserters were very 90 severely punished, by cutting off their hands, arms, or other members, by beheading, crucifixion, or exposure to wild beasts, &c.

47. *Siccam*. [Sicca, or Sicca Venerea, now Keef, a town of Numidia, on the banks of the Bagradas, about 400 miles from the coast. Venus was worshipped here.]

48. *Dilectis*. *Delectis* is more common in the sense in which the word is taken here, though *dilectis* admits the same meaning. [*Dilectis*, strictly speaking, denotes more care in the selection than *delctis*, since it signifies properly, chosen from many.]

49. *Fidem mutavissent*. [Would have changed sides.]

50. *Opere quam natura*. By art than by nature.

51. *Infensi intentique*. [In hostile array and on the alert.]

52. *Alii*. In other editions *evadere alii, alii succedere*, &c.

53. *Præterea pice*, &c. [Cortius reads as follows: *sudes, pila, præterea picem sulphure et tæda mixtam ardentia mittere*. The expression *picem sulphure et tæda mixtam* is hardly Latin, and receives but little support from the examples he adduces in its favour. Our reading is that of Gruter, and has been adopted in the Bipont and many other editions: *mixtam* is for *illitam*, besmeared, covered over; and *ardentia* is put in the neuter gender, as referring to *sudes pila* and *tædam*, things without life—The *pila* were javelins with combustible materials attached to them near the head.] 91

54. *In pluribus*. In throwing their weapons among many. [*Minus frustrati*, were less mistaken in their aim.]

55. *Ad se vorsum*. A tmesis for *advorsum se*.

56. *Popularis esse*. [That they were his own men.]

57. *Angustiis*. In the narrow passages of the gates.

58. *Agitare*. [To patrol.] 92

59. *Proximo*. The sentence may be thus supplied: *in loco hostibus proximo*. Some editions have *primo*.

60. *Fecissent*. [The generality of editions read *facerent*, which must still be rendered by the pluperfect. It is better therefore to give that tense at once.]

61. *Advorsis equis*, &c. [Advanced straight onwards.—*Implicare ac perturbare*, &c. Disordered and broke the line.]

62. *Victos dare*. They delivered up the enemy almost conquered, to their own light-armed footmen; or rather, they almost conquered their enemies by means of their light-armed footmen; *vic-*

92 *tum dare* being used for *vincere*, *defensum dare* for *defendere*, *submersum dare* for *submergere*.

63. *Oppugnare*. [Cortius very strangely refers *oppugnare* to the Romans, and *parare* to the inhabitants: both terms, on the contrary, refer to the latter. *Oppugnare*, they resisted; *parare*, they made ready.]

64. *Niti corporibus*. [They made contortions with their bodies.]

65. *Agitare*. [Moved themselves.]

66. *Studio suorum adstrictis*. Engrossed by an anxious concern for their own men.

67. *Aggressi*. [Having assailed it. Cortius reads *egressi*, alluding to the soldiers having left the ladders and clinging to the battlements.]

93 68. *Unæ*. This word is used in the plural when joined to a noun that wants, or has a different signification in the singular: but *scalæ* is here used in the plural, though the singular would have expressed the meaning.

69. *Quoquo*. In some editions *quo quisque modo*.

70. *Suo loco*. *Loco sibi opportuno*.

71. *Ceterum exercitum*. *Ceterum* is here used in the singular, which is rarely done by the other Latin writers, though frequently by Sallust.

72. *Qua*. [scil. *parte*. If we read *quæ* as most editions do, we shall have merely an unmeaning gloss, *quæ proxuma est Numidiæ*, which Cortius rejects from the text.]

73. *Per*. Here taken for *propter*.

94 74. *Jugurtham*. In some editions *qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent*. In this edition *qui dicerent* are understood.

75. *Sine ulla pactione*. Unconditionally, at discretion.

76. *Ad imperandum*. [This is generally taken in a passive sense and rendered, for the purpose of being ordered; i. e. of receiving orders. It is very doubtful, however, if the gerund be ever taken in a passive sense; in the present instance, *ad imperandum* becomes active if we refer it to the Roman commander, viz: for the purpose of Metellus's ordering him. It must be confessed indeed, that the passage which Cortius quotes from Cicero, *Ep*. 9. 25, to confirm the reading he has adopted, militates in some measure against the opinion just expressed, although it shews at the same time that Cicero deemed this construction contrary to all analogy, and not to be used by him, except with an accompanying explanation. The passage alluded to is as follows: "*Quare ades* ad imperandum, *seu parendum potius, sic enim antiqui loquebantur*." The Bipont edition has *ad oppidum* in place of *ad imperandum*.]

77. *Tisidium*. Situated between Utica and Carthage.

78. *C. Mario*, &c. [Marius was a complete slave to superstition. Plutarch and Frontinus both make mention of a Syrian woman named Martha, whom he carried about with him, and who, as he pretended, and very likely believed, was possessed of the gift of prophecy.]

79. *Agitabat*. Meditated, pondered, resolved.

80. *Animus belli ingens*. [A spirit heroic in war.]

81. *Sed his natus.* [*His* scil. *virtutibus.* Most other editions 94
read, *sed is, natus et altus*, &c. The former, however, seems to me far preferable, and more forcibly to mark the contrast between the early and later periods of Marius's life.]

82. *Arpini.* [Arpinum, now Arpino, a town of Latium, which in ancient times belonged to the Volsci, and which the Romans recovered from the Samnites, 307 B. C. It was the birth-place of Cicero also. Arpino is now a poor village.]

83. *Stipendiis faciundis.* In actual service, in making campaigns.

84. *Urbanis munditiis.* In the polite or elegant accomplish- 95
ments of a city; in city refinements.

85. *Integrum ingenium*, &c. [His uncorrupted genius attained an early maturity.]

86. *Ad id locorum.* Up to that time: *locus* being here put for *tempus*.

87. *Consulatum appetere.* [Cortius reads *petere*, and considers *consulatum* understood.]

88. *Quin his.* [Cortius reads *is.* With *his* understood *nobilibus.*]

89. *Contemtor animus. Contemtum aliorum fovens*; a disdainful spirit. *Contemtor* an archaism for *contemptor*, and used adjectively by enallage.]

90. *Tam prava*, &c. That he would not engage in so perverse a scheme.

91. *Ubi primum*, &c. As soon as the public business would permit.

92. *Annos natus*, &c. [As the strictly legal age for obtaining the consulship was 43 years, Marius, according to the ironical advice of Metellus, would have to wait 23 years longer, and as we may suppose Marius to have been at the time here alluded to at least 43 years, (since he entertained thoughts of then standing for the consulship,) he would have to delay his suit, if he followed the advice of Metellus, until he was at least 66 years old.]

93. *Grassari.* [He advanced boldly on to his object.]

94. *Ambitiosum.* Provided it was calculated to gain favour, or 96
popularity.

95. *Criminose*, &c. In a style of accusation with respect to Metellus, and boastingly with respect to himself.

96. *Dimidia*, &c. *Si* must be here understood.

97. *Inanis.* Vain.

98. *Regiæ superbiæ.* As proud as a king; of insufferable pride.

99. *Cupienti.* To an ardent spirit.

100. *Secundum heredem.* The person to whom the inheritance descended, in case the appointed heir died, refused, or was unable to take possession. Princes and great men sometimes nominated a third or fourth heir.

1. *Morbis confectus*, &c. Wasted by disease, and consequently a little shattered in his mental powers.

2. *Sellam*, &c. The General had a chair of state, on which he sat, when he presided in a council of war, or in judgment, or gave

96 audience to ambassadors. His lieutenant-generals and other persons of distinction took places round him ; and if a king happened to be in the army, he sat next to the general, on his right hand.

3. *Anxium.* [Irritated, vexed at the refusal.]

4. *Imperatoris.* Some editions have *in imperatorem.*

5. *Secunda oratione.* In a flattering speech.

6. *Id adeo.* [That this indeed.]

7. *Equites Romanos.* The farmers of the revenue, who collected the public taxes. These were of equestrian rank, and much respected at Rome, though hated in the provinces.

8. *Honestissuma suffragatione.* By a very respectable interest.

9. *Plebes,* contracted *plebs.* In the genitive *is* or *ei.*

97 10 *Ostentando præmia.* By offering rewards.

11. *Reficere.* He made anew.

12. *Commercari.* [Bought up on all sides.]

13. *Cuncta agitare.* He put every engine in motion.

14. *Suppliciis.* Entreaties.

15. *Discordiosum.* Contentious; a word perhaps peculiar to Sallust. [It occurs in Sidonius, 6 ep. 2 extr. and in Cyprian, ep. 42. 2.]

16. *Festus.* *Dies festus,* a festival day, a holiday; *dies fastus,* a court day ; *nefastus,* not a court day, an unlucky day ; *dies profestus,* or *profanus,* a common or working day; *intercisus,* a half holiday.

17. *Ludum et lasciviam,* &c. [Presented an aspect of sport and merriment rather than of what might cause alarm.]

18. *Trepidare ad arcem oppidi.* Ran in confusion to the citadel.

19. *Pro tectis.* [In front of the roofs, i. e. on the eaves of the houses.]

20. *Anceps malum.* The danger which pressed on all sides.

21. *Infirmissumo generi.* The feeblest portion of the human race, viz. women and children.

98 22. *In ea tanta asperitate.* In this so distressing a posture of affairs. *Sævissumis Numidis,* scil. *existentibus.*

23. *Intestabilis* Detestable, infamous. The word properly signifies one who can neither make a will, be a witness, or receive any testamentary bequest. [Sallust, in his account of the conduct of Turpilius, does not agree with Plutarch, who makes the accusation to have been a false one, and the punishment of Turpilius, who was a retainer of Metellus and master of the artificers, to have been mainly brought about by the false suggestions of Marius. See page 99. note 34.]

24. *E conspectu abit.* Withdraws from the sight of men.

25. *Ira et ægritudo.* [Resentment and grief.]

26. *Expeditos.* Disencumbered of baggage.

27. *Horam tertiam.* The Romans, reckoning from sun-rising to sun-setting, divided the day into twelve hours. At the equinoxes, therefore, the third hour would exactly coincide with nine o'clock A. M.

28. *Abnuentis omnia.* [Refusing all orders.]

29. *Prædam benigne ostentat.* He generously offers them the booty of the place.

Late. In some editions *latere*, which is inadmissible, as it militates against the sense. 98

31. *Effusum.* That had come out in crowds, that had thronged out of the town.

32. *Ex*, &c. After, or since their treachery.

33. *Pœnæ*, &c. Was wholly given up to punishment, (military execution,) or to plunder.

34. *Capite pœnas solvit.* [According to Plutarch, Turpilius and 99 his family had long been retainers to that of Metellus, and he attended him in this war in the character of master of the artificers. Marius, who was one of the council of war that tried him, was not only himself severe against him, but stirred up most of the other judges; so that it was carried against the opinion of Metellus, and was much against his will that he passed upon him sentence of death. A short time afterwards, according to Plutarch, the accusation appeared a false one, and all the other officers sympathised with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with sorrow; while Marius with joy declared that the thing was all his own doing, and was not ashamed to acknowledge in all companies, "that he had lodged an avenging fury in Metellus's breast, who would not fail to punish him for having put to death the hereditary friend of his family."

35. *Nam is civis ex Latio erat.* [By the Porcian law, it was enacted that no one should bind, scourge, or kill a Roman citizen; and by the Sempronian law, that sentence should not be passed upon the life of a Roman citizen without the order of the people. It still remains a disputed point, whether the operation of these laws was suspended or not in the Roman *camp*. This passage of Sallust goes to prove that the laws in question were not superceded by the military power of the consul, but remained in full force, since the words of our author imply that Turpilius would not have lost his life had he been a citizen of Rome: and yet there is a passage in Valerius Maximus, (II, 7. 4.) directly opposed to this, in which mention is made of a Roman tribune having been scourged and degraded by order of his commander. Lipsius (*de Milit. R.* V. *dial.* 18.) seeks to reconcile these conflicting authorities by supposing that the provisions of the Porcian and Sempronian laws were observed in the Roman army only in those cases where the offence merited *capital* punishment.]

36. *Fatigare animum.* [He wearied his invention.]

37. *Carum.* In some editions *magnis opibus clarum.*

38. *Superaverant.* Had remained undone.

39. *Inter hiberna.* [The true reading appears to me to be in *hiberna*, against the winter quarters, and Nabdalsa's army may then be supposed to hover on the borders of the province, where the army of Metellus lay: but if we read *inter hiberna*, among the winter quarters, then *hiberna* can no longer mean the main winter quarters in the province, as the Numidians would never dare to enter within its limits, but must refer to the garrisons placed in the various cities which Metellus had taken.]

99 40. *Timore socii anxius.* [Filled with alarm on account of the timidity of his accomplice.]

41. *Vetere.* His former.

42. *Mollitiem.* In some editions this word is preceded by *in quis.* [*Mollitiem*, cowardice, want of energy.]

43. *Præmia.* Preceded in some editions by *monere.*

44. *Id modo agitari.* That alone was the question.

45 *Ægrum animum.* [A mind ill at ease.]

100 46. *Opera aut ingenio suo.* [Of his assistance or abilities.]

47. *Uti acta.* In some editions we find after *acta*, the words *ex perfugis cognovit.*

48. *Judicem.* The informer.

49. *Quæ ipse paravisset*, &c. [That what he himself had intended to do, had been anticipated by the treachery of his dependant.]

50. *Oppresserat.* [He had suppressed.]

51. *Quieta.* [Given to repose.]

52. *Fuere.* In some editions *fuit* is read for *fuere.* The singular, indeed, following two nouns which have a disjunctive conjunction intervening, is certainly the more common form, but the best editions have the plural.

53. *Circumspectare.* He narrowly inspected.

54. *Fatigantem*, &c. [Importuning him for leave to set out.]

55. *Metello ac Mario.* [See Chapter 65, extr.]

56. *Volenti animo.* Critics differ with respect to this expression: most of them will have *volenti animo* to be the ablative case; but if compared with similar expressions in Sallust and other authors, we confess ourselves inclined to think it will be acknowledged to be a dative, *quæ erant* being understood. The structure is after the Greek model, and the meaning is—having heard the accounts that were transmitted concerning Metellus and Marius, they were, in both cases, such as gratified their inclinations. [I cannot help differing in opinion from my learned predecessor, and regarding *volenti animo* as the ablative. When the passage can be thus explained on the simplest principles of construction, it seems altogether unnecessary to have recourse to a harsh and almost ungrammatical mode of explanation, which Cortius, however, has not hesitated to do. Nor does *volenti animo*, even supposing it were the dative and that *quæ erant* were understood, bear any close resemblance to the Greek idiom, to which Cortius would refer it. The rule for that peculiar idiom in Greek is as follows: "The verbs εἶναι and γίγνεσθαι are often accompanied by a participle of the verb, to wish, &c. in the dative; in which case the participle only, as the leading idea, is translated by the finite verb." vid. Matthiæ, G. G vol. 2. § 391. e. Thus, *Od.* γ, 228. οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγε ἐλπομένῳ τα γένοιτο. I had not expected this. *Hesiod.* 9, 46. ἐπεὶ ἡδομένοισιν ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασιν. Since we were pleased with your discourse: *Thucyd.* 6. 46. τῷ Νικίᾳ προσδεχομένῳ ἦν τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἐγεσταίων. Nicias expected the events in Segesta. An imitation of this in Latin occurs in Tacitus, *Agric. Vit.* 18. *quibus bellum volentibus erat;* and the two others in Sallust himself: Jug. chap. 84, note 39, and chap. 100, note 56. Now these Latin

examples, to say nothing of the Greek, are entirely different from 100
the one at present under consideration: this last, in order to come under the above rule and have *volenti* in the dative, must be entirely remodelled, and stand thus: *plebi, litteris quæ de Metello ac Mario missæ erant cognitis, volenti erant quæ de ambobus fuerant accepta.* I would therefore recommend to the student to consider *volenti animo* as the ablative and render the clause; had received the information contained in them respecting both, with a feeling of satisfaction; or with willing minds.]

57. *Illi.* Used as the definite article.

58. *Studia partium.* Party-spirit.

59. *Quorum res fidesque,* &c. Whose property and credit de- 101
pended on their labour.

60. *Frequentarent.* Attended Marius in crowds; crowded about Marius.

61. *Post multas tempestates.* After a long period.

62. *Decreverat.* *Numidiam* understood; in some editions it is expressed.

63. *Varius incertusque agitabat.* Scil. *se.* He was distracted by a variety of schemes, and uncertain which to put in execution.

64. *Pro tempore.* [As well as the occasion would admit.]

65. *Adfuit.* *Pugnæ* understood: in some editions it is expressed.

66. *Tuta sunt* The perfect of the indicative from *tueor.* In other editions *tutata sunt.*

67. *Impensius modo diffidens.* [Now more deeply distrusting.]

68. *Thalam.* [Supposed by some to be the same with Telepte, now Ferre-anach, though this seems doubtful. Tacitus mentions it (An. III. 21.) as affording a place of refuge to the Romans, who retired into the desert, when Tacfarinas, a Numidian chief, had raised a rebellion.]

60. *Filiorumque,* &c. By synedoche, for *liberorum.* *Multus cul* 102
tus pueritiæ, &c. Where many things were provided for the education and bringing up of his children.

70. *Vasa.* *Vas* singular, has *vasis* in the genitive: in the plural *vasa, orum.*

71. *Ubi.* When and where: since *ubi* is here applicable both to *diem* and *locum.*

72. *Officia intenderant.* Had overdone their duty: had done more than they were ordered.

73. *Religione.* [From a motive of religion.]

74. *Locorum asperitate.* [By the wildness of the country.]

75. *Infectum.* Impracticable.

76. *Arma, tela.* Defensive and offensive weapons, here figuratively taken for things defensive and offensive. Had overcome every difficulty arising from obstacles, prepared either for offence or defence.

77. *Cæteris imperitantem.* [Giving laws to the rest of men.]

78. *Per otium,* &c. In time of leisure, and in consequence of 103
opportunity.

79. *Ex copia.* Out of the whole number.

103 80. *Et super aggerem*, &c. [The reading of Cortius is here retained, which appears much superior to that of the Bipont edition: this last is as follows. *insuper aggere, turribus, opus et administros tutari.*]

81. *Oppido modo potiti.* [Made themselves masters of the town alone.]

82. *Corrupta.* [Destroyed.]

83. *Arietibus*, &c. The battering ram was a long beam, with a head of iron, somewhat resembling that of a ram. It was suspended by ropes fastened to a beam, that lay across two posts, and being thus balanced was thrust forward against the wall, and drawn back, till by repeated strokes it broke down the wall. It was protected by Vineæ.

84. *Eas ipsi*, &c. [These they willingly suffered from their own hands.]

85. *Suam salutem, illorum*, &c. [*Illorum* in this passage refers to the Romans; and it is the same as if Sallust had said *suam, qui illorum socii essent, salutem.* The passage may be rendered as follows: that their safety, who were the allies of the Romans, would be in the greatest danger.]

86. *Navi.* [With readiness, with promptness.] This word is most commonly written *gnavi.* Some editions have *gnavè.*

87. *Eo missæ.* [Cortius and others read *emissæ eo.*]

88. *Sidoniis.* [Sidon was a famous maritime city, the capital of Phœnicia, about 24 miles north of Tyre, which place was one of its colonies. Josephus says that this town had its name from Sindon, a son of Canaan; but Justin refers the name to a Phœnician term signifying *fish.* The Sidonians were eminent for their industry, their knowledge of commerce, and their discovery of navigation. They were, however, considered as exceedingly artful, greedy of money, and dishonest in their intercourse with other nations.]

104 89. *Situm inter duas Syrtis.* [Of course the larger Leptis is here meant, See. page. 62 note 27.]

90. *Syrtis.* [Two bays or gulfs on the coast of Africa, of which the one was called *Syrtis Minor*, the other *Syrtis Major.* The former is now termed the Gulf of Cabes, from the ancient city of Tacape, which stood at the head of it. It is about 45 geographical miles in breadth, and runs up into the continent about 75 miles. It is opposite to the islands of Sicily and Malta, and was reckoned more dangerous than the other. This gulf is still an object of apprehension to sailors, in consequence of the variations and uncertainties of the tides on a flat and shelvy coast. *Syrtis Major*, or the Gulf of Zadic, is about 180 geogriphical miles between the two capes, and penetrates 100 miles into the land. The natives call it *Syrte al Kibber*, i. e. The greater Syrtis, and sailors, Sydra or Seedra.]

91. *Ex re.* From the reality; from the real circumstances of the case: *Syrtes* being derived from συρω, I draw or drag: because the sand and stones were drawn backward and forward by the violence of the wind and tide.

92. *Extrema.* The extremity of Africa towards the east, accord-

ing to the ancient division of it, [by which Egypt was not includ- 104
ed.]

93. *Proxuma.* [Scil. *loca.*]

94. *Uti fors tulit.* [As chance directs, or, has brought about.]

95. *Frequentem.* [*Oppidis* scil. *et cultoribus.* The thickly settled part of Numidia.]

96. *Multi vastique loci.* [A large and desert region.] In some editions we have *inculti*, between the meaning of which and that of *vasti*, there is but a shade of difference.

97. *Ager in medio*, &c. A sandy country intervened between them, of one uniform appearance : viz. a naked open plain.

98. *Legiones.* Troops are here so called in reference to the composition of a Roman army.

99. *Per inducias.* [During a truce.]

100. *Nuda gignentium.* Bare of vegetable productions.

1. *Morari iter.* [*Morari* in its grammatical construction depends 105
on *solet* understood.]

2. *Ob rem corruptum.* [On account of their mismanagement of the affair : their tardiness.]

3. *Pœni.* A corruption of *Phœni*, contracted from *Phoenices*, the plural of Φοινιξ, a palm tree.

4. *Græci.* The Cyreneans, who were a Grecian colony. [See page 62. note 32.]

5. *Optionem faciunt.* [Give them their choice.]

6. *Vel illi.* *Ut* understood before *vel;* in some editions it is expressed.

7. *Ordines habere.* To keep rank.

8. *Ad studium sui.* [To favour his interests, his cause.]

9. *Id ea gratia*, &c. That was the more easily effected and more agreeable to the inclinations of Bocchus, on this account, because, &c. [It is the same as if Sallust had said, *facilius factu propter Bocchi pronam ad bellum suscipiendum voluntatem.*]

10. *Bocchi.* [Many of the old editions read *Boccho*, making Bocchus to have been Jugurtha's son-in-law. The Abbe Brotier, relying upon this reading and some of Sylla's medals, proposes to substitute in Plutarch's life of Marius, where mention is made of the Moorish king, the term son-in-law, for father-in-law: but M. Vauvilliers more judiciously contends from six MSS. of Sallust, and in conformity with Florus, III. 1. for the term father-in-law. In this Larcher concurs. Cortius, the Bipont editor, and all the late editions, read *Bocchi.*]

11. *Necessitudo.* Connection, relationship.

12. *Eo amplius.* *Eo plures* scil. uxores.

13. *Animus in multitudine*, &c. [The heart is divided among a large number, i. e. constancy of affection is lost, by reason of the large number that have claims upon the heart.]

14. *Nulla.* In some editions *nullam.*

15, *Omnia regna adversa sint.* [All monarchies were objects of hostile regard. He alludes to the republican principles of the Romans.]

16. *Tum sese*, &c. [That at present he himself was, that a short

106 time previous the Carthaginians and also king Perses had been, that for the time to come, as each one appeared very powerful, so he would be, an enemy to the Romans; i. e. would be regarded by them as such. The omission of *esse* after *sese*, and *fuisse* after *Persen*, is very elegant. Perses or Perseus was king of Macedonia, vanquished and led in triumph by Paulus Æmilius.]

17. *Operæ pretium fore.* [Scil. *illi*. These would be to him a reward for his trouble, i. e. he would be rewarded for his trouble.]

18. *Bocchi pacem imminuere.* [To lessen Bocchus's chance of peace.]

19. *Cognitis Mauris—ex commodo, &c.* [To make battle on advantageous terms, after having reconnoitred the Mauri, i. e. ascertained what kind of enemy they were.]

20. *Bonum atque honestum.* Right and becoming. [*Tam vehementer ut et officium viri fortis, et dignitatem imperatoriam læderet.*]

21. *Vir egregius, &c.* [A man illustrious for other qualities, bore mental afflictions with too little firmness.]

22. *In superbiam vortebant.* Ascribed to pride.

23. *Bonum ingenium.* [A noble or honourable spirit.]

24. *Multi quod jam, &c,* [*Multi* scil. *hanc esse doloris causam arbitrabantur*]

107 25. *Magnam copiam.* A great opportunity.

26. *Omne bellum, &c.* [That every war was easy to be undertaken, but ended with the greatest difficulties. Our idiom would be, that it was an easy matter to begin, but a very difficult one to end a war.]

27. *Perditis.* Ruined.

28. *Si eadem illi copia fieret.* [If the same opportunity were afforded him; if the same offer were made him.]

29. *Contra.* In answer to.

30. *Ille probare. Partim* must be understood with *probare.*

31. *Intactum.* [In inaction,]

32. *Cupientissima plebe.* [By the eagerly desiring commons.]

33. *Jussit. Dari* being understood, [and governing *ei* expressed.]

34. *Multus atque ferox instare.* For *multum atque ferociter instare.*

35. *Magnifica.* [Arrogant or boastful.—*dolentia*, galling.]

36. *Prima habere.* [He considered of the first importance; he directed his attention to them before every thing else.]

37. *Plerosque militiæ, &c.* [Most of them known to him in war, a few by report. We have here an instance of double construction, not unusual in Sallust.]

38. *Ambiendo cogere, &c.* By courtly solicitations he prevailed upon men that had served out their time, &c.

39. *Quia neque plebi, &c.* [We have here a *genuine* imitation of the Greek idiom mentioned in note 56, page 100. See also Jugurtha, ch. 73 & 100.—Marius is the nominative to *putabatur* understood.—By the term *belli usum* are properly meant the new levies, by means of which Marius hoped to be able to bring the war to a successful conclusion and reap advantages to himself—The whole passage may be rendered as follows: Because military service was thought to be disagreeable to the common people, and Marius about

to lose either the advantages he had hoped for from the war, or the 107
affections of the multitude.]

40. *Animis trahebant.* [They fancied in their minds.] 108

41. *Exagitandi.* [Of inveighing against, of attacking.]

42. *Scio*, &c. [I am well aware, Romans, that the generality of persons do not seek an office from you, and discharge its duties after they have obtained it, in the same character.]

43. *Contra ea.* For *contrarium*, or, *quod est contra ea.*

44. *Nam quo*, &c. [*Videtur* understood. For it appears to me that by how much more important the commonwealth is, &c.]

45. *Illam.* [Omitted by Cortius.]

46. *Neque me fallit*, &c. [Now does it escape my observation, how heavy a task I am called upon to sustain, in consequence of your very great kindness towards me; i. e. how laborious at present are the duties of that station to which in your kindness you have elected me.]

47. *Opinione*, &c. Is more difficult than is generally supposed.

48 *Nam alia*, &c. [For my other supports are weak: *alia* scil. *adminicula, præsidia mea.*]

49. *Omnium ora*, &c. That the eyes of all are turned upon me.

50. *Quippe benefacta mea*, &c. Since my brave deeds are serviceable to the state, or as some suppose, my services to the state are in their view. If the last construction be admitted, the substantive *benefacta* must govern the dative. [The first construction is the true one. *Procedunt* is used here in the sense of *prosunt, prospere cedunt.*]

51. *Ut neque vos*, &c. That ye may not be ensnared and that they may be disappointed. *Frustra* for *frustrati.*

52. *Ita fui.* [For *ita vixi.* I have so lived.]

53. *Ante vestra beneficia.* [Before I received any favours from you.]

54. *Benefacere.* [To do well, to act honourably, to do what du- 109
ty demands.]

55. *Veteris prosapiæ*, &c. Of ancient lineage, and descended from a line of noble ancestors, but who has seen no service.

56. *Præposteri*, Preposterous men, absurd men. [Qui *prima* in *posteriori* loco ponunt.]

57. *Nam gerere, quam fieri*, &c: [*Gerere* scil. *consulatum*, *fieri* scil. *consulem.* For to discharge the duties of the consulship, though posterior in point of time to the being elected consul, is in reality prior to it as regards the fact itself and the advantages resulting to the state. The following is the explanation of Cortius: "*Temporis ordine prius est* fieri *quam* gerere : *quia nemo proprie consulatum antea gessit, quam factus est consul; at* re, *veritate et æquitate*, usu *etiam et utilitate prius est gerere quam fieri. Ii enim veri consules sunt, qui omnibus consularibus virtutibus instructi petunt et fiunt : ii etiam reipublicæ utilissimi.* The explanation of my learned predecessor is as follows: For the conduct or management of a business, though posterior in time to the appointment, is prior in fact, or in practice, or in point of qualifications and experience.

109 58. *Generosissimum.* The most of a gentleman: [the noblest.]

59. *Responsuros*, &c. [What believe you would they answer, but that they had wished the best to be their descendants.]

60. *Ne illi falsi sunt.* [Truly they are much mistaken, they widely err.]

110 61. *Contra est.* [Cortius omits *est.*] *Contra* is by enallage for *contrarium.*

62. *Posteris lumen est.* [Imparts light to their posterity: litterally, is that which imparts, &c. *Lux* denotes the light itself, *lumen*, the body which imparts the light.]

63. *Sed, in maxumo vestro beneficio*, &c. [But since, in the midst of those ample favours which you have conferred, they attack me and you every where with reviling, I did not feel inclined to remain silent, lest any one of them might construe my forbearance into a consciousness of guilt.]

64. *Ex animi sententia.* As I am persuaded, as I really think.

65. *Quippe vera*, &c. [Since a true one must necessarily speak well of me, while my life and my character confute one that is false.]

66. *Hastas, vexillum*, &c. These were rewards commonly given to bravery. The *hasta*, called also *hasta pura*, was a spear of wood; *vexillum*, a banner curiously wrought, and of valuable materials; *phaleræ*, horse-trappings, or ornaments for the necks of men.

67. *Relicta—illa—quæ.* These are plural referring to *imagines et nobilitas.* [In translating, say, *things* not left unto me, &c.]

68. *Non sunt composita*, &c. [My language, they say, is inelegant; for that I care little: *non nimis studiosus sum elegantiæ sermonis.*]

69. *Illis artificio*, &c. [*They* have need of studied expressions that they may conceal their disgraceful deeds beneath elegance of language: *artificio* scil. *sermonis.*]

70. *Neque literas Græcas didici*, &c. ["Marius", observes Plutarch, "neither learned to read Greek, nor would ever make use of that language upon any serious occasion: thinking it ridiculous to bestow time on learning a language of which the teachers were slaves. And when, after his second triumph, at the dedication of a temple, he exhibited shows to the people in the Grecian manner, he barely entered the theatre and sat down, and then immediately departed." Plutarch justly ascribes to his neglect of the softening qualities of literary pursuits, the excesses which stained the character of Marius.——*Doctoribus*, &c. Since it has proved of little advantage, on the score of improvement, to those who are its teachers. The remarks of Marius apply to the whole nation, who were then in subjection to the Romans, and not merely to the *Græculi* or teachers of the language at Rome. Marius had a personal interest in despising letters, and in striving to make his own ignorance a source of self-congratulation.]

111 71. *Præsidia agitare.* [To guard: *præsidium agitare nihil aliud est quam præsidio esse vel frumentantibus, vel impedimentis, vel urbi oppugnatæ.*]

72. *Neque illos arte colam*, &c. [Nor will I treat them with se- 111
verity of discipline, myself with indulgence.]

73. *Hoc est utile*, &c. [This is an exercise of authority useful to the state, this such as one citizen should put in practice towards another: *civile*, h. e. *cive dignum qui civibus imperat.*]

74. *Tute.* Not an adverb, but a pronoun. When you yourself live in luxurious indulgence. [*Exercitum supplicio cogere*, &c. To compel your army to the performance of their duty by severity of punishment, this is to be a tyrant, not a general.]

75. *Quia parum scite*, &c. Because I do not with elegance furnish out or prepare an entertainment, nor keep any buffoon, nor cook of higher value than my steward; charges which I am willing to confess.—*Histrionem* a buffoon kept for the entertainment of the company.

76. *Ex sanctis viris.* From venerable men.

77. *Munditias.* Delicacy.

78. *Ament, potent.* [Let them indulge in amours, in wine.]

79. *Avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam.* [Calpurnius, Aulus, and 112
Metellus are here respectively meant.]

80. *Militaris ætas.* The age for military service was from 17 to 46, sometimes to 50.

81. *Decebat.* In some editions *decet.*

82. *Ex classibus.* The Roman people were divided into six classes, according to their estates; the first class consisting of the richest citizens: the second class was next in wealth and dignity to the first; and so progressing downwards to the sixth class, which had no property. Those included in it were therefore called *capite censi*, taxed by the head.

83. *Capite censos.* Those of the sixth or last class, who were not admitted into the Roman legions before the time of Marius, unless in dangerous conjunctures, as having no interest in the welfare of the state, so far at least as property was concerned.

84. *Bonorum.* This word in this instance has reference to property; and the meaning is for want of *better.*

85. *Auctusque erat.* Scil. *honore*; exalted or raised to dignity.

86. *Cum pretio.* With gain: if attended with profit.

87. *Auxiliariis.* The troops sent by foreign kings and states were 113
so called.

88. *Divorsi.* Having separated.

89. *Lætissumis animis*, &c. Is very joyfully received. He was afterwards honoured with a triumph, and with the surname of Numidicus. [vid. Liv. 4, 27. Eutrop. 4, 27. The subsequent history of Metellus may be told in a few words. L. Apuleius Saturninus, a tribune of the people, summoned him to trial because he had not sworn to observe the Agrarian law, which this tribune had carried into force; and although all the good citizens supported him, to prevent contention he went into voluntary exile at Rhodes, where he spent his time in reading and conversing with illustrious men. Marius pronounced sentence of banishment against him, 104 B. C.

113 two years after which he was recalled with the highest approbation of the state.]

90. *Armis exuerat.* *Armis, castris, urbe,* &c. *exuere;* to cause one to flee with the loss of arms,—to quit his camp,—lose a city.

91. *Belli patrandi.* [Calculated to bring the war to a close: as if Sallust had said, *ad bellum patrandum idonea.* A similar use of the genitive occured in Cat. chap. 6. note 71.]

92. *Pro hostibus,* &c. [Favourable to the enemy and most disadvantageous to himself.]

114 93. *Gravior.* [Cortius reads *grarius.*]

94. *Majora et aspera.* [The common editions insert *magis* before *aspera,* Cortius, however, clearly proves by examples adduced, that the word *Majora* involves also the comparitive of the following adjective, which stands therefore in a positive form.]

95. *Hercules Libys.* [Cicero N. D. III. 16. makes mentions of six different individuals who bore the name of Hercules, he is silent however respecting a Lybian Hercules. Servius on Æn. VIII. 564. observes that this was a common appellation for all brave men. It is very probable however that the name and worship of Hercules came originally from the Egyptians, and that in process of time the actions and exploits of many were ascribed unto one. *vid. Herod.* II. 43 & 145. *Banier's Mythology, Vol.* 1. p. 490.]

96. *Immunes.* Free from all taxes; under a mild government.

97. *Jugi Aqua.* A perennial fountain.——*Quæ procul,* &c. [Cortius reads *qui*——*agebant,* compairing the use of the masculine form *qui* after *Africa,* to the construction *pars qui,* &c. so frequent in Sallust. Our reading is that of the Bipont edition, and is certainly preferable. As Africa in this passage denotes the inhabitants of the country, there is little harshness if any in reading *quæ—agebat,* scil. *se,* more especially in such a writer as Sallust. The use of *agebat,* however, may be defended on much better grounds, for we have a similar usage of the verb *agitat* in Sallust himself. The passage occurs in the third book of the Fragments, towards the conclusion of the letter of Cn. Pompeius to the Senate, and is as follows. *Gallia superiore anno Metelli exercitum stipendio frumentoque aluit: et nunc malis fructibus ipsa vix agitat.*

98. *Salem.* [*Sal* is found in the singular also as a neuter. The plural *sales* is masculine, and signifies *witticisms.*]

115 99. *Arvo.* Agriculture. A Metonymy.

100. *Pro rei copia.* Considering circumstances.

1. *Laris.* Either the genitive singular or accusative plural. [The accusative appears preferable.]

2. *Se prædabundum,* &c. [The same in effect as, *se nunc, priusquam sequatur, prædaturum, tum vero, præda facta, eodem venturum.*] *Dicit* is understood.

3. *Egrederentur.* scil. *castris.*

4. *Res trepidæ.* [The confusion into which they were thrown.]

116 5. *Coercitum.* Capable of being kept in subjection.

6. *Omnia non bene,* &c. [Cortius omits from *modo* to *data* inclusive. I have followed the Bipont text.]

7. *Inter ceteram planitiem.* In the middle of a plain. There was only a single hill, the rest was a plain. 116

8. *Omnis natura.* In some editions *omnia*, *quoad* being understood. [*Natura* will then be in the ablative.]

9. *Importunus.* Inaccessible.

10. *Administrare.* [Lend aid.] 117

11. *Æstuans.* Boiling with vexation.

12. *Aversum prœliantibus.* On the opposite side to that where the parties were fighting.

13 *Solitudinem intellexit.* He found that he was alone.

14. *More*, &c. In some editions the sentence runs thus; *more humanæ cupidinis ignara visundi animum vertit.*

15. *Paululum modo prona.* Bending a little downward at first.

16. *Castella planitiem*, &c. He reconnoitres the platform of the fort.

17. *Eadem.* [Scil. *via.*] In some editions *eodem.* [scil. *modo.*]

18. *Duce.* [Their guide, the Ligurian.] 118

19. *Prospectus.* [The view in front, or before them.]

20. *Ponderis.* *Levioris* being understood: on account of their lightness.

21. *Dubia nisu.* Dangerous to be attempted.

22. *Potissumus.* In some editions *potissumum.* The adverb is much more common than the adjective.

23. *Digrediens.* Stepping aside.

24. *Testudine*, &c. The *testudo*, said to have been invented during the Trojan war, was so called from its likeness to the tortoise-shell, It was formed by closing their targets above their heads, so as partly to cover each other, and protect the soldiers from the missive weapons of the enemy.

25. *Quos.* Referring to *equitatu.* In some editions *quod.*

26. *Sisenna.* An historian of the Cornelian family, who wrote 119 the history of the civil wars between Sylla and Marius. [Cicero gives him high commendation, and makes him superior to all who had written before him, though he at the same time reckons his work far from perfect. He wished to improve the style in common use, and therefore used uncommon words. According to some he held the office of Prætor.]

27. *Otio luxurioso.* Addicted to luxury when unoccupied with business.

28. *Nisi quod* &c. Either, except that he might have conducted himself better to his wife; for he was charged with ill treatment of his first wife; or save that he might have acted with more discretion in the choice of a second wife. He had, in his old age, formed a matrimonial connection with Valeria, by which he was dishonoured. *Potuit consuli*, taken impersonally. [I should prefer translating *de uxore* in such a way as to apply to both cases, which is evidently the meaning of the historian: except that he might have had more regard for his own character in matrimonial affairs.]

29. *Amicitia facilis.* Calculated to gain and preserve friendships.

119 30. *Ad simulanda*, &c. [The depth of his mind was incredible for concealing from others his secret plans.]

31. *Ante civilem victoriam.* Previous to his success in the civil wars.—Sylla's enemies, according to Plutarch, esteemed him rather a fortunate than a great general. He himself even took pleasure in hearing his success imputed to Fortune, thinking that this opinion gave an air of grandeur, and even of divinity to his actions. In his commentaries, says Plutarch, he writes, that his enterprises executed on a sudden, in a manner different from what he had intended, always succeeded the best. Hence the well known appellation of *Felix* which he appended to his name.——*Numquam super industriam*, &c. His fortune never exceeded his industry or merit.]

32. *Sollertissimus omnium.* The most accomplished soldier of all.

120 33. *Manu.* In action.

34. *Dubium*, &c. That he was wavering, and deliberating on the arguments for war or peace.

35. *Vix decima*, &c. *Die* for *diei* in the genitive. Some will have *die* in the ablative, *die (relicta)*, or *reliqua existente, vix scilicet, decima parte;* but this construction is harsh.——[Aulus Gellius (IX, 14.) makes mention of this very passage of Sallust, and considers *die* to be a genitive, and not an ablative. It would appear from his remarks that some of his contemporaries made *die* equivalent to *ex die*.]

36. *Nullo impedimento.* The old dative. [The ancients sometimes declined such adjectives as *nullus, solus alter*, &c. regularly. Thus *solæ*, *alteræ* in Nepos. &c. and *nulli* for *nullius* in Terence, And. III, 5. 2.]

37. *Sarcinas colligere.* All the baggage was collected into one place before an engagement.

38. *Equites pedites.* Scil. *hostium.*

121 39. *Et ob ea*, &c. And on this account (viz. because they the young soldiers, were united to the veterans) skilled in war. [I have retained the reading of Cortius, who explains it as is here given; this explanation, however, which is the best that can be afforded, is far from satisfactory.]

40. *Manu consulere*, &c. He was serviceable to his soldiers by fighting.

41 *Noctem pro se*, &c. Having imagined the night to be in their favour,—to be an advantage unto them.

42. *Ex copia rerum*, &c. He forms a design suitable to the situation of affairs.

43. *Pauco munimento*, &c. [Cortius reads *pauca munimenta quærebat.*]

44. *Quia non fugerant.* In some editions *quod non fugere—ac pro*, &c.

122 46. *Vigiles.* In some editions *vectigales;* the meaning of which is difficult to be ascertained, unless extraordinary and supernumerary trumpeters belonging to the allies be meant. *Vigiles* is certainly preferable, and easily understood.

47. *Formido.* In some editions *formidine.*

48. *In hiberna.* *Proficiscitur*, being understood: in other editions it is expressed; but verbs of motion, as well as substantive verbs, are frequently understood, and easily supplied. 122

49. *Quadrato agmine.* [In column order; not as it is generally rendered, in a hollow square. The *agmen quadratum* is described differently by different writers. See, however, Salmasius, *de re milit. Rom.* c. 10. and Guischard, *Mémoires crit. et hist. sur les antiquités militaires*, T. 1. p. 195. Both these writers describe the *agmen quadratum* as being a column or parallelogram.]

50. *Præterea cohortes*, &c. As if he had said, *cum funditoribus*, &c. *curabat, præterea curabat cohortes*, &c. Manlius took charge of the left wing, &c. and had besides charge of the Ligurian cohorts.

51. *Minume cari.* These words are omitted in some editions. The meaning is, whose lives were less valued.

52. *Quasi nullo imposito.* [As if no one were placed over them by him.]

53. *Merentis.* [i. e. *ut quisque vel laudem vel culpam meruerat.*]

54. *Neque secus*, &c. Nor was he less careful in fortifying his camp, than he had been on the march.

55. 56. *Non diffidens*, &c. [Not so much from any distrust on his part, that the orders he had given would not be obeyed, as in order that their toils, being equally participated in by their commander, might be cheerfully endured by the soldiers at large. Cortius reads, *non diffidentia futuri quæ*, &c. and completes the sentence thus, *non diffidentia futuri ejus omnis quæ*, &c. making *quæ* plural on account of the plural import of *omnis*. Few, if any, will approve of such an explanation. *Futuri* must either be changed to *futurorum*, or *quæ* to *quod*, or else the reading I have adopted be regarded, as it certainly is, as the simplest and the best.—For the construction *militibus—volentibus esset*, see chapter 84, note 39.]

57. *Malo.* By punishment. 123

58. *Nisi.* Is here used for *sed* or *at*.

59. *Citi.* The same as *citato cursu*, at full speed.

60. *Æqui aliquos*, &c. [Cortius joins *æque* with *ab tergo*, and renders the phrase in German, *gerade von hinten zu*: i. e. directly in the rear.]

61. *Ad pedites.* [Not the Roman infantry, but those whom Volux had brought, and with whom Bocchus had attacked the Roman rear.]

62. *Satis impigre.* [i. e. *Satis fortiter et celeriter.*]

63. *Atrocitate rei.* [With the dreadful nature of the thing. Cortius explains the whole passage thus: *magis terrentur quod atrocissimam rem, cædem consulis, conciperent animo, quam quod Jugurthæ crederent, factum esse quod diceret.* The Roman soldiers put no faith in the words of Jugurtha, and yet they could not refrain from shuddering at the idea which those words had called up in their minds, viz. that there was even a possibility that their favourite commander might yet lose his life in the action.]

64. *Perculsos.* *Romanos* understood. In some editions it is expressed.

124 65. *Vitabundus.* By making great exertions to escape.

66. *Sequi,* &c. [A beautiful specimen of the Figure Asyndeton, in imitation of the celebrated passage in Xenophon (*Ages.* 2, 12,) praised by Longinus, 19. *Συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας, ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον.*]

67. *Niti modo.* They only made a struggle to arise.

68. *Visus erat.* *Visus* is here a noun: *Qua visus erat* as far as the sight could reach.

69. *Postea loci.* A periphrasis for *postea.*

70. *Post diem quintum quam,* &c. [i. e. *diem quintum postquam. Diem quintum* is the accusative governed by *in* understood, with the signification of the ablative. See Notes to Catiline, p. 18, note 62.]

71. *Persequi.* For *persequendi,* and governed by *necessitudinem.* [The use of the infinitive for the gerund, which is not uncommon in our author and others of the Latin writers, is properly a Hellenism.]

72. *Principio.* [Cortius reads *jam inopi visum,* omitting *a principio reipublicæ,* but how does the term *inopi* coincide with the idea contained in *servos quærere?*]

125 73. *Gratia.* [Advantage, benefit.]

74. *Parentes.* Subjects: from *pareo.*

75. *Perpessus esses.* Connected to *accepisses;* though the sense requires the perfect of the indicative, *perpessus es,* as it is in some editions. [*Perpessus es* undoubtedly makes a very intelligible meaning, and seems at first view to be the true form; yet why may not *perpessus esses* be retained and strictly rendered, you would have suffered? so that the whole passage may run thus, and would that this course had pleased you at the outset; undoubtedly you would in that event, have received up to the present time far more good from the Roman people, than you would have suffered injury.]

76. *Cui scilicet placuit* &c. [Cortius reads *placuisse,* and makes the infinitive depend on *scilicet* i. e, *scire licet.* Our reading is that of the Aldine edition.]

77. *Unde vi* &c. [*Marius* is understood as the nominative to *expulerat. Jure belli suam factam,* refers to Bocchus. The expression *jure belli,* as used by the latter, has relation to the agreement which Jugurtha made with Bocchus, that if he would take up arms and aid him in repelling the Romans from Numidia, he would give the third part of that country. Bocchus now pretends that the moment he took up arms, his right to this third part became absolute; hence the expression *jure belli.*]

78. *Copia facta.* When opportunity was given; *mittendi legato* understood.

79. *Venerant.* The simple verb for the compound *evenerant,* which is the reading in some editions.

126 80. *Sine decore.* Without ornament, without ensigns of dignity, or badges of their commissions as plenipotentiaries.

81. *Vanis.* [Fickle, deceitful, faithless.]

82. *Adcurate,* &c. He treated them respectfully and generously.

83. *Largitio.* Bribery, liberality with a view to corruption.

84. *In benignitate*, &c. Were attributed to generosity. 126

85. *Benevolentiæ. Paranda* understood. This construction has been already explained. In some editions the reading is *benevolentia esse, benevolentia* being then taken as a verbal adjective.

86. *Ibi infecto*. [Cortius reads *infecto, quo intenderat, negotio*, and makes it equivalent to *infecto negotio, quo infecto redire intenderat*. This is altogether incorrect, since there is no allusion in the phrase *quo intenderat* to any return. The reading which I have adopted is far preferable.]

87. *Legatis*, &c. [Permission to go to Rome is granted to the ambassadors by the consul.]

88. *Ea Sullæ*, &c. *Ea* being plural refers both to *potestas eundi* and to *induciæ*.

89. *Mutant*. *Se* understood. [Are changing.]

90. *Studium*. Attention, courtesy.

91. *Deprecati sunt*. *Confitentes* understood.

92. *Cujus arbitratu*. By whose instrumentality, or intervention; an uncommon signification of the word.

93. *Balearium*. The Balearean Islands were Majorca and Minorca, whose inhabitants were dextrous slingers, having been trained up to the practice from ther infancy. 127

94. *Sagittarii*, &c. Complete the sentence thus: *sagitarii et cohors Peligna erant*; or, *profecti sunt cum Sull..* In some editions *iere* is expressed. The Peligni were a tribe of the Samnites in Italy. Their chief town was *Corfinium*; another of their towns was *Sulmo*, famous for being the birth-place of Ovid. *Velitaribus*, &c. Light armour, such as was used by the Velites, who fought in scattered parties in the front, or on the flanks of the legions.

95. *Temere et effuse*, [In a disorderly and scattered manner.

96. *Hostilem metum*. [Apprehension or fear of an enemy.]

97. *Expedire*. They put off all incumbrances, got ready.

98. *Tentare*, &c. They tried their arms and weapons, and were intent on an engagement. [*Intendere* i. e. *intentus paratus esse*.]

99. *Quietam*. [*Rem quietam (esse)* may be rendered, that there was nothing to fear, that all was well.]

100. *Incerto voltu*. With looks of confusion.

1. *Animo feroci*. [With stern resolution.]

2. *Eodem*. [Scil. *Voluce*.]

3. *Cœnatos esse*. To get their supper over. Supper was the principal meal among the Romans, and the only meal to which they regularly sat down together. It had its name *cœna*, accordingty from *κοινος*, *communis*, and was taken at 3 P. M. in summer, and at 4 in winter. The dinner, *prandium*, was a slight meal, without any preparation, frequently taken standing, especially by the soldiers. 128

4. *Prima vigilia*. The Romans divided the night into four watches, beginning at sunset, and ending at sunrise. The Greeks divided it into three watches.

5. *Manu vindicandum*. *Manu vindicare* signifies to take immediate vengeance, without waiting for the formality of a trial,

128 6. *Nudum et cæcum corpus.* A defenceless aud blind back.

7. *Quoniam*, &c. [Since he was acting the part of an enemy.]

8. *Ceterum*, &c. [Besides, since he (Jugurtha) had not a large number with him, and his hopes and resources depended upon his (Volux's) farther, that he (Jugurtha) would not dare to do any thing openly, when he himself (Volux) the son was present as a witness of his conduct.]

9. *Per media*, &c. Probably Jugurtha had encamped his men in two divisions, between which Sylla and his forces passed.

10. *Acciderant. Ea* must be understood. Other editions give *accesserant*, which I should rather approve. [Cortius in my opinion defends the use of *acciderant* in this passage very successfully: he makes it signify, they had come, for *accido* frequently has this meaning when any thing sudden or unexpected arrives. Thus in Livy we have *civitati fama incerta accidit*, and in Curtius *fremitus a littore accidit*, &c. If this be the true doctrine, *acciderant* in this passage of Sallust, will have *illi*, not *ea*, understood.]

129 11. *Orator.* As his agent or ambassador.

12. *Quem Bocchus*, &c. [Cortius inserts *Romanis* after *fidum*. The reading which I have adopted is preferable, according to which *fidum* signifies worthy of reliance simply, without any particular reference. Bocchus had not been long acquainted with the Romans, and therefore *fidum Romanis*, &c. seems altogether to harsh.]

13. *Consulta.* That he had left every subject of consultation undetermined, until he could take them into consultation in conjunction with him.

14. *Cautum esse*, &c. [Cortius reads *quo res*, &c. omitting *cautum esse* which according to him may be understood. Others understand *illum accitum*, or *advocatum*. According to our reading *cautum esse* will refer to Dabar, and it will be the same as, *Dabarem ipsum providum tutumque quo*, &c.]

15. *Punica fide.* From the frequent breaches of compact, with which the Carthaginians were charged by the Romans, *Punica fides* become a proverbial expression among them for bad faith *Attica fides*, on the contrary, implied sincerity, honesty, good faith.

16. *Adtinuisse.* [Had kept amused.]

17. *In sua castra.* Aspar and Sylla separated to go, each to his own camp, i. e. Aspar to that of Jugurtha, and Sylla either to the place where his party were encamped, or to the camp of Marius.

18. *Internuncius.* The common friend or confident both of Bocchus and Sylla, a man of honour or respectability, and perfectly suitable to the wishes of both. This sentence is concise and highly elegant.

19. *Ambobus.* After this word *jurat* is expressed in some editions, and *et* omitted before *ex*.

20. *Et omnium*, &c. [Cortius reads *et omnium quos novi*, omitting *opulentissimus*, which changes the meaning entirely. Ours is the Aldine reading.]

130 21. *Inminutum.* Altered.

22. *Fuerit*, &c. [Cortius omits *fuerit*. Let it have been my good lot, &c.]

23. *Id adeo*, &c. Of that accordingly it is allowed you to make trial. 130

24. *Integra*. Its value shall always be undiminished: the favour shall always be considered as uncompensated.

25. *Cujus curator*. Whose agent.

26. *Factum—volui*. For *facere volui*.

27. *Egrediar*. For *transgrediar*.

28. *Præterea*, &c [Is not this a hint on the part of Bocchus that he is willing to betray Jugurtha into the hands of the Romans?]

29. *Quod polliceatur*. [As regarded the promises which he may make.]

30. *Id adeo*, &c. That this was indeed an easy matter since he had Jugurtha in his power.

31. *Negitare*. [Resolutely denied.]

32. *Fluxa fide*, &c. If he acted treacherously.

33. *Lenitur*. [He is softened, his resolution is overcome. Cortius reads *leniter*, mildly, in a softened manner.]

34. *Sibi*. *Dicit* understood: in some editions expressed. 131

35. *Poni*. For *componi*.

36. *Ceterum si ambobus*, &c. [That as to the rest, if he wished to consult for both their interests, and have a firm peace, &c.]

37. *Non sua ignavia*. [Not by reason of any cowardice on his part.]

38. *Dolo, an vere*. Deceitfully or sincerely. *Vere* is in some editions followed by *cunctatus*.

39. *Ipsæ sibi adversæ*. Self-contradictory.

40. *Benigne*. Favourably, kindly.

41. *Remotus*. Here refers to *amicis*, and is contrasted with *adhibitis*. In other editions *remotus* is followed by *ceteris*.

42. *Voltu corporis*, &c. [The motions of his body varying with the purposes of his soul; by which, though he himself was silent, he disclosed the secrets of his breast. *Voltus* is here a general term for the gestures of the body, including also the expression of the countenance; *corporis* is joined with it by a pleonasm.] Some editions read *voltu, colore, et motu corporis*, and also *pectoris, oris immutatione* patefecisse.

43. *Uti dictum*. [As had been agreed upon.] 132

44. *Gallos*. [More correctly *Germanos*, for they were the *Cimbri*, *Teutones*, and *Tigurini*. For an account of the defect of Manlius and Cœpio, *vid. Flor*. III, 3.]

45. *Illique*. The order of this sentence is *illique Romani, et Romani inde ad nostram*, &c. Both the Romans of that day, and thence downwards even to our time.

46. *Cum Gallis*, &c. [Cicero, Off. I, 12, observes, *Cum Cimbris, ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset? non, uter imperaret?* Comp. *Tacit. de M. G.* c. 37.]

47. *Absens*. This was a violation of the law, and yet frequently practiced. No person was allowed to be a candidate, unless he was at Rome.

132 48. *Kalendis Januariis.* The first of January, the time when the consuls entered on their office.

49. *Ea tempestate.* [Emphatical. His subsequent career was ruinous to the state.]

GENERAL REMARKS.

EXAMPLES of the ancient orthography, which are very frequent in Sallust, have been generally pointed out in the preceeding notes. The principal of these are: the use of an *o* for an *e*, as *vorto* for *verto*; of *u* for *i*, as *optumus* for *optimus*; of *e* for *i*, as *intellego* for *intelligo*; of *u* for *e*, as *referundum* for *referendum*; of *is* for *es* in the plural accusatives of nouns, as *partis* for *partes*; of *e* for *æ*, as *ceteri* for *cæteri*; of *ss* for s, as *caussa* for *causa*; of *ll* for *l*, as *paullo* for *paulo*: of an *m* for an *n*, as *umquam*, for *unqunm*; the omission of *p* in some words, as *sumtus* for *sumptus*, &c.

In other authors the last letter of the preposition, when annexed to the verb, is, in particular cases, for the sound's sake, changed into the first letter of the verb; in Sallust the preposition, when annexed to the verb, in most of these cases, remains unchanged; hence we find him constantly using *adfero* for *affero*, *adgredior* for *aggredior*, *ecferens* for *efferens*, &c. In this last case, the original form of the preposition, as derived from the Greek εκ, is retained. When the preposition *ex* in composition precedes *s*, the *s* in other authors is commonly omitted; in Sallust, it is retained; as *exsequor* for *exequor*, *exstruo* for *extruo*.

There are several other peculiarities in Sallust, adverted to in the notes; as the use of the frequentative for the simple verb, which occurs in almost every page: and of the infinitive mood for the perfect, or imperfect of the indicative, especially for the latter; a practice more common in this author than any of the classics. Some words also, which, in other authors, always appear in a contracted form, in Sallust are sometimes written at length, as *tamen etsi* for *tametsi*, *animum advorto* for *animadverto*.

The reader will recollect, when reviewing the geographical notes, that the boundaries of countries were frequently altered by conquest, partition, &c. and became of course, very different in different ages. The design of the notes did not admit a particular enumeration of the varius changes that took place from time to time in each country.

FINIS.

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